THE ABBEY OF ST GALL

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THE ABBEY OF ST GALL

AS A CENTRE OF LITERATURE & ART

BY

J. M. CLARK
M.A. (LONDON), PH.D. (HEIDELBERG)
Lecturer in the University of Glasgow

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PREFACE

The contribution of St Gall to European civilization is the theme of our investigations. There are many scattered articles and monographs on different aspects of the subject, but no comprehensive treatment of it as a whole. In the present work the historical matter is only an introduction to the following chapters, in which the arts and sciences that were cultivated at St Gall are treated. For several centuries this Abbey was the chief seat of German literature, but this domain cannot be studied satisfactorily without reference to music and art, so closely were these different spheres linked up together in the Middle Ages.

There is a marked tendency to-day to place the study of mediæval and modern languages on a broader basis. If we are to achieve the best results we must not regard the language as an end in itself, but as the key to a civilization. A vast amount of philological material has already been accumulated. The time has come for a synthesis. Specialization has limited the field of enquiry ever more closely, and effectively separated from each other the different branches of every discipline. The need of the present day is to achieve a closer collaboration of allied subjects, e.g. of philology, folk-lore, the history of literature and of art. An epoch-making article by Dr Wilhelm Braune, entitled *Angelsächsisch und Althochdeutsch*, shows what remarkable results may be obtained by the application of philological methods as an aid to history.

I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professor Robert Priebsch of London University, who first suggested the subject, and to whom I have frequently applied for advice, never without considerable benefit. It is also a pleasure to place on record how much I owe to Professor Herbert Smith of Glasgow University, who has taken a keen interest in the work, and has helped me in countless ways to overcome the difficulties presented by my researches. Dr W. H. Frere, Bishop of Truro, has placed me under a great obligation by reading the two chapters on Music and the Drama and making a number of very helpful criticisms. Professor Breul of King's College, Cambridge, has given me unfailing encouragement and many useful suggestions. I am deeply indebted to

Mr G. G. Coulton of St John's College, Cambridge, for the invaluable help he gave me during the final revision of the manuscript for the press. I have received much active assistance from my old friend Dr G. Schirmer of Zürich and from Professors G. Jenny and G. Werder of St Gall. My especial thanks are due to the Trustees of the Carnegie Fund, who made a liberal grant towards the expenses incurred in pursuing my researches and in publishing this volume. Nor must I forget Monsignor Fäh, Director of the Abbey Library, who was indefatigable in his aid and who very kindly gave me permission to photograph St Gall manuscripts. Dr T. Schiess of the Municipal Library has given me repeated proofs of his willingness and his ability to promote my investigations. The chapter on Irish Influence owes a great deal to the suggestions made by the Rev. Father Joseph Müller, Keeper of the Abbey Archives.

When the greater part of the present book was ready for the press I obtained knowledge of an important contribution to my subject. In his new work *Baudenkmäler der Stadt St Gallen*, Herr August Hardegger deals very thoroughly with the growth of the Abbey Church and the monastic buildings and gives fresh reasons for believing that the celebrated ground-plan of the ninth century had a profound influence on the evolution of the Abbey. I must make my acknowledgments to Herr Hardegger for his permission to reproduce some of the illustrations of his book *Die alte Stiftskirche und die ehemaligen Klostergebäude in St Gallen* (Zürich, 1917). Messrs Fehr Brothers of St Gall have allowed me a similar privilege with regard to pictures in the *Geschichte der Stadt St Gallen* by Dr Traugott Schiess. I must also mention the discoveries of Mr H. G. Farmer in the sphere of mediæval music. It is now definitely proved that the Arabic contribution to the theory and practice of music in the Middle Ages was considerable and I think it highly probable that it made itself felt at St Gall. Future historians of the subject will do well to consult Mr Farmer's forthcoming publication *Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, Wm Reeves).

J. M. C.

Glasgow, 1925

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THE
ABBEY OF ST GALL

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

ABOUT the year 610, St Columban arrived with his companions at the old Roman town of Brigantia[1], at the eastern extremity of Lake Constance. He found some relics of Christianity in a district that had relapsed into paganism. The old church of St Aurelia had been converted into a heathen temple and contained three gilded images. St Gall, one of Columban's disciples who was an eloquent speaker and knew the language of the people, preached to the assembled multitude, broke their idols and cast them into the lake. After the Irish monks had stayed there for three years, Cunzo, Duke of Alemannia[2], ordered them to leave the country. Columban went to Italy and founded the monastery of Bobbio.

Gall was prevented by a fever from accompanying his master. He found his way to Arbor Felix (Arbon), where he was tended by two clerics, Maginald and Theodor. When he recovered, Gall wished to retire to a solitary place in order to end his days in meditation and prayer. It was not difficult to find a suitable spot. Range after range of mountains culminating in the Alps stretch from Arbon to the south-west. At that time these mountains were covered by a vast uninhabited forest infested by bears, boars, and wolves. Gall explored this region with the help of a deacon named Hiltebold, who, being a hunter, knew the country well.

At length they came to the foot of a precipitous cliff, where the Steinach brook falls down over the rocks. Gall was an angler, and his experienced eye viewed with approval the large pools

[1] The modern Bregenz.

[2] The old Duchy of Alemannia, later called Swabia, originally comprised the German-speaking Cantons of Switzerland, Württemberg, and parts of Alsace, Baden and Bavaria.

below the cascade. His foot caught in some thorns and he stumbled, which he took to be a sign from heaven that he should halt there. Hiltebold warned him that there were wild animals in the neighbourhood. The saint replied: "If God is for us, who is against us? He who saved Daniel from the den of lions is able to save me from the power of wild beasts." The place was marked by a wooden cross, on which Gall hung his reliquary, and which he consecrated by prayer and fasting.

Hiltebold had been sent back to Arbon, and his companion was engaged in his devotions, when a bear approached. Gall commanded it in the name of Christ to bring wood and put it on the fire. The animal obeyed, and received bread as a reward for its good behaviour, after which the saint ordered it to leave the spot for ever. Gall then returned to Arbon to bid farewell to his friend Willimar the priest.

He returned with two disciples: Maginald and Theodor. They hewed down the trees and built huts. The land was granted to the saint as his personal property. The Count of Arbon sent workmen who erected a small chapel. A ploughed field supplied the community with food. Gall went from village to village preaching the pure gospel and condemning the heathen customs which polluted it. Soon his fame spread far and wide. The brethren observed the Rule of Columban, acknowledging Gall as their head and Columban as their abbot. Such is, in brief outline, the story related in the *Vita S. Galli*.

From these small beginnings, from the hermitage founded about the year 613, an abbey was to arise which existed for over a thousand years and was for a time one of the most renowned centres of scholarship in Europe. After the decay of its intellectual and spiritual life, it was still distinguished by its great wealth and temporal authority and continued to exercise a vast influence on the whole surrounding district.

After the death of St Gall, which took place in the second quarter of the seventh century[1], the cell continued to be the home of anchorite monks. It became a favourite place of pilgrimage because it contained the relics of St Gall. The saint was, however, not to be allowed to rest in peace. Within the century

[1] *Vide* Meyer von Knonau, *Vita S. Galli*, p. 44, n. 156.

that followed his death, the valley of the Steinach was devastated and the cell plundered on two different occasions.

The first incursion took place during the lifetime of Maginald and Theodor, who remained alone in the cell when all the other monks had fled[1]. St Gall's tomb was violated by the marauders and the two faithful disciples re-interred the coffin between the altar and the east wall of the chapel.

It is interesting to note that even at this early time the people of the old Roman city of Arbon, who were reputed to be wealthy, knew of no more sacred spot than St Gall's hermitage, and hence they buried their treasures there. It also appears that the surrounding land was already cultivated[2]. About the year 710 the small community was attacked by the Franks. A number of women and children who had sought refuge in the cell were carried away and reduced to slavery[3]. Whatever material loss was incurred by reason of these depredations, the prestige of the Saint did not suffer, but steadily increased.

From the very beginning of the eighth century, grants of land and of serfs follow in rapid succession. About the year 700 there was a church dedicated to St Gall, served by a priest, who doubtless ministered to the whole local population. The oldest St Gall charter[4] records how Godfrey, Duke of Alemannia, endowed Magulfus, "presbyter et pastor Sancti Galluni[5]," with the village of Biberberg on the Neckar in order that he might buy lamps for his church.

Another patron of the hermitage was Waltraf, Tribunus, or Baron, of the Hundred of Arbon. In 720 he appointed Othmar, an Alemannic priest, who had been educated in Rhætia[6], custodian of the cell. Othmar was so charitable that he gave to the poor the clothes from his own back, and tended with his own hands those afflicted with the most repulsive diseases. He was the first Abbot of St Gall and he partially substituted the Rule

[1] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 21; cf. Meyer von Knonau, *ibid.*, p. 51, n. 166; p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51, n. 168.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–6.

[4] The original is lost. Printed in H. Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei St Gallen*, I, 1.

[5] This is merely the Old High German genitive *Gallun*, with a Latin termination.

[6] *Vita S. Othmari*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 95.

of St Benedict for that of St Columban in 747 or the following year[1]. The community increased rapidly by the accession of many monks from the surrounding district. There were between 720 and 760 two or three priests, one deacon and forty-seven other monks. Othmar found it necessary to erect new monastic buildings; he also added a hospital for laymen.

In a charter dated 744[2], mention is made of St Gall's relics; Krusch infers[3] that about this time they were either discovered or translated. The first alternative seems to us to be out of the question[4]. But a translation may have taken place. The first *Vita Sancti Galli* was written about 745 and the consecration of a new shrine may well have furnished the occasion for this.

In 747 Carloman, the brother of Pepin, visited St Gall on the way to the Italian monastery in which, renouncing worldly greatness, he was to end his days. He commended the Abbey to his brother, who endowed it handsomely. Substantial grants were also made by local nobles. Thus Abbot Othmar obtained possession of rich estates in Thurgau and Gossau, by the Lake of Zürich, in Breisgau, and even as far away as in Alsace.

This rapid increase in wealth could not fail to arouse the envy and enmity of powerful neighbours. Counts Warin and Ruodhart, local vassals of the Frankish kings, encroached on the rights of the monastery. Othmar resisted and was consequently imprisoned in the island of Werd, near Stein on the Rhine, where he died in 759. As he had suffered death at the hands of impious men, he was considered a martyr and was canonized a century later[5]. It is, however, certain that he had come into conflict not only with the temporal but also with the spiritual authorities of the district.

The Frankish church was being brought into line with the Roman hierarchical system, which placed the monasteries under the jurisdiction of the bishops. In the middle of the eighth century the Abbey of St Gall was still governed on the lines laid down by St Columban and was independent of any episcopal authority. Othmar defended the autonomy of his abbey and hence incurred the hostility of the Bishop of Constance. After

[1] Cf. however Krusch in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rer. Meroving.*, IV, 230 and n. 7.

[2] Wartmann, No. 10, p. 11.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] *Vita S. Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 54.

[5] A.D. 863.

his death the cause of ecclesiastical unity prevailed. His successor, Abbot Johannes, completely introduced the Rule of Benedict in 760 and acknowledged the suzerainty of the see of Constance, which involved *inter alia* the payment of an annual tribute. St Gall had now ceased to be an isolated community on the Irish model and had become in many respects a typical Benedictine abbey.

Charlemagne, who regulated the affairs of every portion of his great empire according to a vast and consistent policy, strengthened the authority of the bishops, and made them the chief supporters of his system of government. He hence confirmed in 780 the charter which had made St Gall dependent on the see of Constance. This led to continual friction and was a great obstacle to all development. The successors of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious (814–840) and Louis the German (843–876) made St Gall a royal monastery, granting immunity from all lay jurisdiction and giving the monks the right to elect their own abbot. In 854 the annual tribute to Constance (consisting of a horse and an ounce of gold) was remitted and a number of farms ceded to the bishopric by way of compensation. Like other royal monasteries, however, St Gall had to send the King every year two horses, two shields and two lances.

After this conflict had been settled, the development of the Abbey was steady and uninterrupted. By purchase, bequest, and gift, many new estates were acquired. No doubt many of these donations were prompted by motives of disinterested piety, but it is none the less certain that in some cases more worldly considerations played a part. It was possible to obtain, both in this world and the next, all the credit of enriching the church without sacrificing one's personal comfort. In very few instances was property really conferred on the Abbey without some kind of compensation[1]. A freeman would make over his land to St Gall on condition that he and his heirs might be allowed the usufruct of the whole or a part of it during their lifetime. Another would become the feudal vassal of the Abbot and hold his domains as a fief. Great advantages accrued from such a step. The

[1] *Vide* Hermann Bikel, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Klosters St Gallen*, pp. 23–9.

possessions of the monastery enjoyed immunity from secular jurisdiction; all cases were tried in the ecclesiastical courts.

The old Germanic division of the tribe into freemen and slaves was gradually developing into the feudal system. Many freemen became the vassals of great barons or of ecclesiastical overlords, and an aristocracy of powerful, warlike property-owners arose. In those troublous times the freemen were not strong enough to protect themselves and many were glad enough to purchase safety at the cost of an annual tribute, which generally took the form of corn, but was sometimes paid in cattle or cloth. To become a vassal also meant to have a certain social standing, as the henchman of some nobleman or prelate.

Thus the territories belonging to St Gall continually expanded; at the beginning of the ninth century they even included certain districts in the North of Italy. This process not only brought wealth to the Abbot, it made him the temporal ruler of large domains. Every farm or village which passed under his sway was thus severed politically from the Gau (or Canton) and released from the control of the Baron of the Gau. In the course of time the scattered possessions of the monastery formed an orderly political community, with most of the prerogatives of an independent state.

While the Abbey was increasing in material prosperity, its intellectual life was also progressing rapidly. Charlemagne had given a vast impetus to education, which continued to bear fruit long after his death. St Gall was fortunate enough to have a series of very energetic and cultured abbots, thanks to whose efforts it soon became one of the most famous centres of learning in Europe. This development, which was to reach its culminating point at the close of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, commenced with Abbot Gozbert (816–836).

His first care was to rebuild the monastery on a much larger scale. In spite of the fame of its founder, St Gall was considered the poorest and smallest abbey in the Carolingian empire, according to Notker Balbulus[1]. It was for this reason that Charle-

[1] "Cunctis locis imperii latissimi pauperior visa est et angustior." *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 756. Mr Coulton suggests that Notker means "of royal abbeys."

magne chose the Abbey as the prison for his natural son, the humpbacked dwarf Pepin, who had attempted to assassinate his royal father. Pepin was sent to St Gall, and after having his head shaven and being soundly flogged, he was held in confinement for a short time, and then transferred to the monastery of Prüm.

The new buildings were commenced in 830[1]; in general, though by no means exact, conformity with the famous ground-plan which is still to be seen in the Abbey library.

Abbot Gozbert was an enthusiastic patron of scholarship and art. He devoted considerable attention to the increase of the library of which he was the founder and encouraged the copying of books. He also improved the Abbey school, which already had a long history behind it. He entrusted to Walafrid Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau, and one of the first scholars of his day, the task of retelling in better Latin and in a more polished style the life of St Gall. It was fitting that a stranger should do this, because he could not be accused of partiality. After finishing the book, Strabo was asked to write the life of St Othmar. The latter work was then submitted to the Bishop of Constance for his inspection. The large number of miracles recorded, many of them within living memory, satisfied the authorities[2]; and Othmar was accordingly canonized. His remains had been discovered in the church during building operations, at the spot where they had lain for years almost forgotten. The cult of the Saint was revived and in 867 his relics were translated to a new church dedicated to him.

In the course of the civil war between Lothar and Louis, the grandsons of Charlemagne, Louis marched into Swabia and visited St Gall. He deposed the Abbot and in 841 he appointed as head of the community his own chaplain and chancellor Grimald[3]. Although the new Abbot was not a monk but a secular priest he did much to increase the prestige of the monastery, and it was in no small measure in consequence of his efforts that the Carolingian kings gave the Abbey repeated marks of

[1] For further details, *vide infra*, pp. 72–5.

[2] Three miracles was the minimum required for canonization.

[3] *Vide* Meyer von Knonau in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, vol. XIII, p. 37, n. 95.

their favour. Grimald was a powerful Frankish nobleman and an excellent scholar. He had been educated at Charlemagne's court by Alcuin himself. Otfrid, Walafrid Strabo, and Rabanus Maurus were among his personal friends, and they all dedicated books to him. He promoted the growth of the school at St Gall, and in his time[1] the first catalogue of the library was commenced. It contained, when completed, the titles of four hundred volumes, of which Grimald himself presented thirty-three[2], and is still preserved[3].

It was also during Grimald's abbacy that the monastery had its first famous teacher. Iso, who had himself been trained at St Gall, was *magister*, or superintendent, of the outer school. He was so successful in his work that he is said to have been summoned by Count Rudolf of Burgundy to found a school at Grandval in the Jura; he died in 871[4]. Contemporaries called him "monachus doctissimus Sancti Galli." He wrote a book describing the miracles that took place during the translation of the relics of St Othmar to the Abbey Church.

Grimald was not a native of Swabia, but a Frank. He had been forced upon the monks in violation of their right to elect their own head. The dissatisfaction caused by this arbitrary act was to some extent allayed when the King gave the fraternity permission to nominate Grimald's successor. On the death of Grimald in 872 the choice of the Chapter fell on Hartmuot, and the King confirmed the election. Like his illustrious predecessor, the new Abbot combined in his person the advantages of noble birth and learning. He was also instrumental in increasing the fame of the Abbey.

The school continued to flourish, thanks to the efforts of Ratpert[5], a pupil of Iso and of the Irish monk Moengal (or Marcellus). He was the author of a chronicle, the *Casus Sancti Galli*, which describes the history of the monastery down to Ratpert's own time, and concludes with a detailed account of

[1] About 860.

[2] The total number may have exceeded four hundred, because many monks had books of their own, which afterwards passed to the library.

[3] Codex 728, pp. 4–21; printed in Weidmann, pp. 364–6.

[4] Cf. Dümmler, *St Gallische Denkmale*, p. 260.

[5] *Vide Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, vol. XIII, Einleitung.

the visit paid to St Gall by the Emperor Charles the Fat (881–7) in 883. Both before and after his accession to the imperial throne, this monarch had been extremely well disposed towards the monastery. He had frequently enjoyed its hospitality on his journeys to and from Italy. He had made substantial grants of land to the Abbey.

On the occasion of this particular visit, the Emperor consented to Hartmuot's request to be relieved of his office, and superintended the election of a new abbot by the monks. Hartmuot became a recluse in the strictest sense of the word, allowing himself to be immured within four walls with only a small opening for the insertion of food. Here he lived on for many years; as late as 895 he added his signature to an official document.

The abbacy of Salomo (890–920) was the golden age of the monastery. An orphan of noble birth and the heir to a large fortune, he was educated at St Gall by Notker Balbulus and others. Through the influence of Grimald he became Court Chaplain and Chancellor to Louis the German (843–876). It was his duty to draw up the royal edicts and charters; as an adviser of the King he had unbounded influence.

Being handsome, intellectual, and of pleasant address, he was a favourite at court. Four successive monarchs confided in him and valued his counsels. In 890 Arnulf (877–899), grandson of Louis the German, elected him Abbot of St Gall, and in the same year also appointed him to the see of Constance, as Salomo III. Like his friend Hatto, Bishop of Mainz, he became one of the most trusty supporters of the Carlovingian dynasty. Considering as he did that a strong central authority in the state was necessary for the preservation of ecclesiastical prerogatives, he was a powerful ally of Louis the Child (900–911) and Conrad I (911–919), the last kings of Charlemagne's line. The Abbot's political distinction involved him in civil disturbances and wars.

Salomo was then one of the most prominent actors in the history of his day. He added four rich abbeys to the property of St Gall: Aadorf in Thurgau, Farndau in what is now Württemberg, Messin in Lombardy, and finally in 905 his greatest acquisition, Pfäffers in Rhætia. In exchange for some land near

Goldach, he had acquired the Irenhügel[1], a hill to the north of the monastery. He had built a house there for his own use before his election as Abbot, and about 890 he erected a church there, dedicated to St Mang, the companion of St Gall, and containing his relics. In 903 Salomo went on a pilgrimage to Rome. Pope Sergius III received him with the honours due to his rank and allowed him to take back with him the relics of St Pelagius the Martyr and St Constantius, at the same time confirming the liberties of St Gall and Constance.

During the thirty years of Salomo's rule the Abbey had not only acquired vast wealth, it had also reached its culminating point as a centre of learning. Two famous teachers added new lustre to the school. The first was Notker (c. 840–912), surnamed Balbulus on account of an impediment in his speech[2], whose home was in the immediate neighbourhood of the monastery, at Jonswil in Thurgau. He was a man of such piety that a later generation canonized him. In addition he was a great scholar and a poet of no mean order. Modern research has identified him with the so-called monk of St Gall who wrote the *Gesta Caroli Magni*, a collection of anecdotes in popular style connected with the life and times of Charlemagne. He was also the author of a martyrology based on that of Archbishop Ado of Vienne. But it is as a musician that Notker was most renowned. Three times he is referred to as the author of sequences: in his epitaph, in the *Book of the Dead*, and in Ekkehard's *Casus*. The contemporary portrait in a St Gall manuscript represents him as a musician[3].

The second teacher, Tuotilo, was a man of versatile gifts, being a poet, a player on string and wind instruments, a sculptor and an architect. He was especially noted for his proficiency in the plastic arts. The carved ivory tablets which are said to be his work are among the most treasured possessions of the Abbey library to-day. Besides being an artist and a musician he was well developed physically. His talents were in fact so rich and

[1] The name is derived from *Ira*, a brook that runs down the Rosenberg, and has nothing to do with the Irish.

[2] He is also referred to as Notker II, to distinguish him from two other monks of the same name. The best account of him is Meyer von Knonau's *Lebensbild des heiligen Notker*, Zürich, 1877.

[3] Reproduced *ibid.*, frontispiece.

so varied that Charles the Fat cursed the man who made Tuotilo a monk. The latter died in the same year as his friend Notker Balbulus, in 912.

The art of calligraphy was cultivated by Sintram, the scribe whose handwriting was known and admired everywhere north of the Alps. Ekkehard wrote of him: "It is wonderful that one man could have written so much...yet this was also to be wondered at, and it is true only of him, that as his delicate writing was beautifully regular, you will seldom find in a page even one mistake corrected[1]."

The *Evangelium longum*, one of the finest illuminated manuscripts produced at St Gall, is attributed to him. This codex, together with the famous *Psalterium aureum* and the *Psalterium Folchardi*, show to what a pitch of perfection the writing and illumination of books was raised at St Gall in the second half of the ninth century.

The impetus given to learning by Abbot Salomo is clearly shown by the existence of the *Vocabularius Salomonis*[2], which was intended to be an encyclopædia of all the sciences then known. The various phrases and technical terms used in connection with theology, history, rhetoric, poetry, medicine, philosophy, and so on, are arranged in alphabetical order and explained.

After the death of Salomo the fortunes of St Gall declined. The Carlovingian kings had been well disposed to the monastery, but the Saxon dynasty was not interested in Swabian affairs. Moreover Salomo's successors were men of inferior ability. Various untoward circumstances made further development impossible for a time at least. There was the attack of the Hungarians in 925 or 926, the fire of 937, and the raids of the Saracens a few years later.

Apart from brief notices in the *Annales Sangallenses Breves*, *Annales Minores*, and *Annales Alamannici*, our only source for the first of these catastrophes is the account in the *Casus S. Galli*[3] of which Scheffel made such effective use in his *Ekkehard*. The

[1] *Casus*, cap. 22 (ed. Von Knonau), p. 95; cf. however *ibid.*, n. 315.
[2] Codex 905; *vide* Scherrer, pp. 321–3.
[3] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, pp. 198–209.

monastic chronicler calls the invaders "Huns" and, in doing so, voices the popular belief of his day, but it is extremely doubtful whether these unwelcome guests were really the lineal descendants of Attila's race. According to the description given in the *Casus*, which dates from the middle of the eleventh century, the monks fled at the approach of the enemy, leaving no one behind but the foolish Heribald, who refused to accompany them. The Hungarians feasted in the monastery and pillaged it, but spared Heribald's life. They thought that treasure was hidden in Wiborada's cell, close to the Abbey, and being unable to find anything, they avenged themselves on the recluse: Wiborada was hence venerated as a martyr. Before departing the Hungarians set fire to the town, which is mentioned for the first time in Ekkehard's narrative.

The same writer[1] gives us a graphic account of the fire of 937:

It was the annual festival of St Mark[2], and as the scholars are wont to behave on saints' days in such a way that they deserve to be chastised afterwards, they had obtained as a result of intercession, exemption from punishment, or rather a kind of truce, on the second day. But on the third day the overseers, whom we call "circatores," enumerated their misdeeds to the master, and all were told to strip. One of the culprits was sent to the upper part of the building to bring down the rods that were kept there. In order to liberate himself and his companions, he straightway snatched a firebrand from one of the stoves, thrust it among some dry sticks next to the roof, and kindled them as quickly as possible. But when the overseers shouted to ask him why he was so long, he bawled out that the house was on fire, and thus, as the north wind was blowing, the dry shingles were seized by the conflagration and the whole building was in flames.

Hurriedly dressing, all left the master, ran away and climbed on the roof. The north wind tore away the shingles which were scattered by the fire, and carried them to the top of a tower close to the Abbey church. This tower had once been strengthened by Hartmuot with a threefold wall as a protection against this very danger, so that the church treasure might be quickly taken into this tower through a crypt that had a passage leading that way, if by any chance the place should catch fire.

However this tower, being covered with wooden shingles over the stone tiles, caught fire, as we have said; and, as can still be seen to-day, it burnt most fiercely by the apse of the Holy Virgins, where

[1] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 67, pp. 240–3.
[2] April 25; cf. however Von Knonau, *op. cit.*, p. 240, n. 833.

it adjoined the Church. As we have heard from old men who were then young, it was wonderful to see the conflagration pause until the upper roof caught fire. For they brought down all the bells and took them away, together with all the sacred utensils. They also rolled the broken screens over and about St Gall's altar, lest his bones should be destroyed by the fire. At length they carried out the body of St Othmar, and in the apartments of the Abbot's Hall, which narrowly escaped the flames, they placed under guard everything they saved. Thieto ran to and fro, a distressed spectator.

In 954 the Saracens are said to have attacked St Gall from their hiding-places in Rhætia. They had come from Africa and the South of France to the Alpine passes from which they frequently sallied forth to seize travellers and set them to ransom, or to devastate the surrounding districts[1]. The passage in the *Casus*[2] runs as follows:

The Saracens, whose nature it is to be strong in the mountains, molested us and our dependents from the south to such an extent that, having gained possession of our grazing-lands (alpes) and mountains, they even hurled javelins at the monks following the cross (i.e. in a procession) round the town. The Abbot's troops could not discover where they were hiding. One night he himself, accompanied by the boldest men from among his attendants, found where their hiding-place was, and attacked them in their sleep with spears, sickles, and axes. Some were killed, others taken prisoners, the rest escaped by flight; and he considered it useless to pursue them, since they ran over the mountains more swiftly than goats. But he drove the captives before him to the monastery. As however they refused to eat or drink, they all perished. It will suffice to mention this as an example of the sufferings of that time, and of the greatness of Walto; for if I were to ennumerate all the hardships which our community suffered from the Saracens, I should fill a volume.

It is not surprising that under the stress of such adversity the fame of St Gall should have suffered eclipse. There are many evidences of decline. The preceding period had contributed very considerably to art and literature, and had bequeathed to succeeding generations a large store of charters. The first half of the tenth century is comparatively bare of such records. It is characteristic that the post of librarian was considered super-

[1] Ferdinand Keller, *Der Einfall der Sarazenen in die Schweiz*; cf. especially pp. 13–14.

[2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 126, pp. 408–411.

fluous in the tenth and eleventh centuries. After the fire the monks were homeless and were dispersed in the neighbourhood. Although temporary accommodation was soon provided, the restoration of conventual discipline proved a long and difficult task. As late as 972 Otto I endeavoured to reform the monastery, but his death in the same year rendered the attempt ineffectual.

In spite of all these untoward events, the second half of the tenth century witnessed a revival of the school, which is closely associated with the names of two Notkers and three Ekkehards. This recovery was due to the vitality of the Abbey traditions, for the new generation of scholars were the spiritual sons of Notker Balbulus and his contemporaries. Gerald, a pupil of Notker I, was the teacher of Ekkehard I and Ekkehard II, both of whom taught in the school. They were succeeded by Ekkehard III and Notker Labeo.

Abbot Craloh (942–958) had designated as his successor the Dean (i.e. claustral prior), Ekkehard I; the monks had also elected him as their head, but before the Emperor could confirm their choice, Ekkehard was lamed by a fall from his horse; and, with the consent of the Chapter, he handed over his office to Burkhard I (958–971). The former retained his position as Dean, and fulfilled his duties efficiently. He is best known as the author of the *Waltharilied*. Burkhard was the son of a certain Count Ulrich, who was the hero of a victory over the Hungarians, and what is more, he became the central figure of a beautiful legend[1]. His son, Burkhard, was brought up in the Abbey of St Gall. He was a very apt pupil, but of such delicate health that his master always spared the rod.

Notker the Physician, who died in 975, was nicknamed "Pfefferkorn" because of his severity. His skill in medicine was so great that he was once called to the imperial court for a consultation[2]. Ekkehard II, the nephew of the Dean, is the hero of Scheffel's novel. Although not the author of the *Waltharilied*, it was he who read Virgil with Hadwig, the gifted Duchess of Swabia. Through her he obtained access to the court, and thus St Gall became connected with the Ottonian Renaissance. He was called "the Courtier" (Palatinus). After teaching both in

[1] *Vide infra*, pp. 267–270. [2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, pp. 398–9, n.

the inner and the outer school, he was appointed Canon of Mainz, and died there in 990.

The outstanding figure in the next generation of monks was Notker Labeo (c. 950–1022). Like the first three Ekkehards and Burkhard II, with all of whom he was related, he was a native of the St Gall district. Notker was versed in all the knowledge of his age: he was a theologian, a grammarian, a mathematician, an astronomer, a musician, and a poet. He is most famous for his translations of Latin classics into German.

Burkhard II (1001–22), a cousin of Notker Labeo, was the last abbot who actively promoted learning. He renovated the domestic buildings, made various additions to the library, increased the Abbey's domains, and restored the discipline which his predecessors had allowed to relax. He went to Italy in 1021 to join Henry II in his campaign and died of the plague on the return journey. Swabian soldiers brought the contagion back home with them and many of the St Gall monks were carried away by the pestilence. Among them was Notker Labeo.

The year 1034 marks an important turning-point in the history of St Gall. Conrad II ordered the monastery to adopt the Cluniac Reform, and he forced on the community a new abbot, Nortpert, who was a friend of St Poppo and had been trained by him at Stablo in Lower Lorraine. The monks of St Gall opposed a stout resistance to what they considered to be the fanatical teachings of schismatics[1]. The policy of centralization which characterized the Reform seemed to be an attack on their ancient liberties. Why should their Abbey, which was subject only to the Emperor, be forced to accept the authority of the Abbot of Cluny? Although Nortpert was finally compelled to abdicate (in 1072), his rule permanently injured the intellectual life of the monastery. Only one scholar of note, Ekkehard IV[2], survived to keep alive the traditions of the past. In the last decade of his life (1050–60) he continued the *Casus S. Galli* from Salomo's time down to that of Abbot Notker (971–5).

Nortpert's departure was soon followed by the outbreak of the

[1] Ekkehard in Codex 176, p. 298: "Novitas Popponis S. Galli cellam in plerisque nobiliter sanam vulnerabat scismatis sui vulnere sævo et dolendo."

[2] For his life *vide* Meyer von Knonau, *Mit. z. vat. Gesch.* xv, pp. viii sqq.

War of Investitures, which was but one phase of the gigantic struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. It has been pointed out that Ekkehard IV, who wrote with such enthusiasm of kings and emperors, scarcely mentions the Pope at all. The monks of St Gall were partisans of Henry IV and remained loyal to him even after Canossa. Thus the Abbey was drawn into the vortex of civil strife.

There were occasional fitful revivals, but the struggle between the Hohenstaufen and the Welfs, in which four warlike abbots of St Gall successively played a prominent part, completed what the War of Investitures had begun. The Abbey was entirely secularized; the light of scholarship and art was absolutely extinguished. The *Annales* broke off in 1044. The *Casus* maintained a precarious existence until the beginning of the thirteenth century, but they had lost their literary value. When they were resumed in 1335, the author was not a monk of the Abbey, but a citizen of the town. Moreover Christian Küchemeister's *Nüwe Casus* are not in Latin, but in the vernacular.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries St Gall was a wealthy and powerful abbey that ruled over the whole area between the Alps and the Lake of Constance and possessed numerous estates further afield. The monks were men of noble birth, to whom asceticism did not appeal. They had given up conventual discipline and lived alone in separate houses[1]. The abbots were barons in monastic garb; they were travellers, huntsmen, courtiers, warriors. Attended by a retinue of knights, they were welcome guests in the palaces of kings and emperors. They had the status of territorial princes, and to this day part of the Canton of St Gall[2] is called the *Fürstenland* or Principality.

The democratic impulse imparted by the foundation of the Swiss Confederation led to a revolt of the Appenzell peasantry in 1401. The citizens of St Gall also made a bid for complete independence. After a desperate struggle the hardy mountaineers threw off the yoke of the Prince Abbot, and the liberties of the burghers were ultimately placed on a secure basis; but the age-long feud between the town and the monastery was perpetuated

[1] Cf. *Continuatio Casuum*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, p. 144, n. 30.
[2] The northern part, between Wil and Rorschach.

by religious dissension, for the former adopted the Protestant faith.

From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards the Abbey regained and preserved its old reputation for discipline and learning, but in 1805 its long history came to a close. Napoleon ordered the dissolution of the monastery and the decree was executed by the popular assembly of St Gall. The property was divided between the new Canton and the Catholic community. The magnificent Abbot's hall fell to the share of the state and has since been used as the government buildings. The library and the archives remained the property of the Catholics. The monastic buildings were converted into a classical school. After the dissolution a few of the monks remained as custodians of the library, fulfilling their duties with quiet dignity. In 1844 St Gall was created an episcopal see.

CHAPTER II

THE IRISH INFLUENCE

The history of the relations between St Gall and Ireland falls into three distinct periods: (i) from the foundation of the cell (c. 613) till Othmar's election as Abbot in 720; (ii) from Abbot Othmar's time down to the end of the eleventh century; (iii) the twelfth century.

Our chief source for the first period is the *Vita S. Galli*[1], the accuracy of which has been seriously questioned by modern historians. It must be admitted that the account given of early benefactions and of the relations between the cell and the see of Constance is untrustworthy. But here a definite motive can be assigned for the conscious or unconscious perversion of historic facts. The discovery of fragments of the original *Vita*[2] shows that Wettin's biography of St Gall was partly based on an old and sound tradition. It is hence worth while to collect and examine the statements made with regard to the cell.

The annotations which the learned editor of Wettin's work, Professor Meyer von Knonau, has added to the text have certainly cleared away a good deal of the legendary matter that obscured the historic facts, but the work of demolition has been carried out so ruthlessly that at first sight nothing seems to remain. With respect to one detail, however, the accuracy of Wettin's narrative can be vindicated. In one of his footnotes[3] Professor von Knonau refers to Ebrard's criticism of the *Vita*; the latter takes exception to the mention of a reliquary, which he considers to be an anachronism. This view is erroneous: the veneration of bells and croziers in Ireland can be traced back almost to the time of St Patrick[4]. Moreover a St Gall

[1] Ed. Meyer von Knonau in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, XII, 1–93.

[2] *Vitæ Galli Vetustissimæ Fragmentum*, ed. B. Krusch in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 257 sqq.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 72.

[4] J. Bury, *Life of St Patrick*, pp. 151–2, 211, 307–8, 368–9; cf. *Life of St Columba*, ed. Reeves, p. clxv and Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, pp. 167–251.

charter of 720–737 refers to the presence of relics of St Desiderius[1].

In the first of the three periods with which we are dealing the cell was an Irish hermitage, in which St Gall, his disciples Maginald and Theodor, and successive generations of monks, practised the Rule of St Columban. According to the *Vita S. Galli*[2], the number of monks reached, but did not exceed twelve during the lifetime of the Saint. The number twelve occurs so frequently in monastic history[3] that this statement is probably correct.

With regard to the nationality of the two companions of the founder, the balance of the evidence points to the fact that they were Alemanns. Their names are not to be found either in Dubduin's eulogy of the famous Scots of St Gall, or in the traditional list of St Columban's companions[4]. Walafrid Strabo distinctly states that they were Willimar's *clerici*[5]. There is nothing particularly Irish about the names: Maginald is Germanic, and Theodor may be either the Teutonic Theodo or one of those Roman names that still survived in the St Gall region. It is certainly strange that Ekkehard IV calls them Scots[6]; but Walafrid, who wrote two centuries earlier, is more likely to be right. It is also evident that Ekkehard is confusing Maginald with Magnus.

The only other names recorded in this early period are those of Magulfus[7] and Stephanus[8]. The former was a priest who served a church dedicated to St Gall. The latter was a deacon and custodian of the cell. Magulfus was certainly an Alemann, but the nationality of Stephanus is doubtful. It should, however, be noted that this name was very common in the surrounding district[9].

[1] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, No. 4, p. 4.

[2] Cap. 29, p. 37.

[3] *Life of St Columba*, ed. Reeves, pp. lxxii sqq.; cf. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, I, 200.

[4] Concannon, *Life of St Columba*, pp. 105–6.

[5] "Duobus clericis suis Magnoaldo et Theodoro hanc sollicitudinem commendavit."

[6] "Scottigenæ: Magnus, Theodorus et alii non pauci," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), 40; cf. Ekkehard's *Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 14, n. 61.

[7] Wartmann's *Urkundenbuch*, I, 1.

[8] *Vita S. Galli*, cap. 46, p. 56.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 244.

Very little is known about the Saint himself beyond what Jonas relates in the *Vita S. Columbani*, and the few brief remarks in the *Vita S. Galli*. The only fact that can be gathered with regard to his personal appearance is his great stature. When his shrine was violated by the Reformers in 1529, Johannes Kessler, who was an eye-witness, described the mortal remains of St Gall as "big bones from which his size could easily be judged[1]."

It is a well-known fact that the handbell and crozier of a Celtic saint were often carefully preserved and were regarded with particular veneration. Quite a number of these relics still exist in Great Britain and Ireland, but on the Continent there is only one surviving specimen of each, and they are in the Cathedral Treasury at St Gall[2]. Both the bell and the pastoral staff are of the form and workmanship typical of the early Celtic church.

According to a very old tradition, the crozier originally belonged to St Columban, and was sent by him when he was *in articulo mortis* to his disciple in token of forgiveness[3]. Ekkehard IV tells us that it hung over the altar dedicated to St Gall in the presbytery of the Abbey church. It is said that Notker Balbulus used this crozier to strike an evil spirit. The precious relic was broken in the process, but it was mended by the armourer[4]. It was called by its Irish name "cambutta," which was a household word at St Gall as late as the eleventh century.

The genealogy of St Gall is to be found in a ninth-century manuscript[5], together with those of St Bridget and St Patrick. Von Arx pronounced this genealogy to be fabulous, because it claimed that St Gall was of royal descent[6]. Considering that Ireland was divided into five kingdoms, each of which had a ruling prince, not to speak of petty kings, royal blood was less of a distinction in those days than one might suppose. The account of St Patrick's parentage, as here given, is considered to be genuine by a most discriminating modern authority[7].

[1] *Sabbata*, ed. Egli and Schoch, p. 333.

[2] Illustrations of both in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, v, 132; and of the bell only in Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 214.

[3] *Vitæ Galli Vetustissimæ Fragmentum*, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 251 sqq.

[4] *Casus S. Galli*, cap. 41, pp. 147–9.

[5] Codex 553, pp. 163 sqq. Printed in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Scriptores*, II, 34.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] J. B. Bury, *Life of St Patrick*, p. 16.

Anyone familiar with the feats of the Celtic imagination will be surprised not at the extravagance but at the sobriety of St Gall's pedigree. His father's name is given as Kethernach, his grandfather's as Unichun. Gall is declared to be of the same race as St Bridget, i.e. to be a native of Leinster. It is highly significant that according to Jonas, who is an accurate and trustworthy witness, St Columban was born in this province[1]. According to tradition the two holy men were kinsmen. We know that Irish monasteries were often inhabited by the members of one clan under the leadership of an Abbot who was either the actual head of the clan or closely related to him[2]. It is hence quite likely that St Gall, like St Columban, came from Leinster.

If we remember the scrupulous care with which the Gael preserved, and indeed still preserves, his pedigree, we shall come to the conclusion that in all probability the names of Gall's father and grandfather are correctly recorded. They may have been of noble birth and related to one of the various royal houses of Ireland[3], though the statement that Kethernach was a king may be erroneous.

This genealogy is interesting because it gives us the Irish form of the Saint's name: Gallech or Callehc. The etymology presents some difficulties. In the first place *hc* is evidently a clerical error for *ch*, but did the name begin with *g* or *c*? It is important to note that the manuscript has in the first instance Gallech corrected into Callech. It would therefore appear that the original form of the name was Callech, and that the intrusion of the *g* was an accident. But the problem is complicated by the fact that initial *g* became *c* in Upper German as a result of the second sound-shifting; and, curiously enough, in Bridget's genealogy the two Irish names Dubhtach and Demri are spelt Tubthac and Temeri. Hence it is quite possible that Callech is only a Germanized form of Gallech.

Reeves declared that the Saint's name was Callech, which he identified with the Old Irish Cailech (modern *coileach*, the cock);

[1] *Vita S. Columbani*, I, 3.

[2] Reeves, *Life of St Columba*, p. ci; Zimmer, *Handelsverbindungen*, p. 444.

[3] According to Adamnan, St Columba was the scion of a royal house, Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

of which the correct Latin equivalent would be *Gallus*[1]. A passage in the *Vita* seems to support this view[2]. As a well-known Celtic scholar, the Rev. Dr George Calder, informs me, the difficulty about this etymology is that single and double *l* could never be confused in Gaelic. Even to-day they are pronounced differently. But in each case the manuscript has *ll*. The alternative theory, which was brought forward by Zimmer, takes *Gallech* as the original form[3]. This is the adjective derived from *Gall*, signifying "the stranger," or in the seventh century "the Gaul, the Frenchman." *Gallicus* or *Gallus* would be the Latin translation.

I have collated another text of the genealogy which is to be found in a Heilbronn manuscript now in the University Library at Erlangen[4], and find that the name is written twice alike: *Calech*.

Let us return to the cell. In consequence of the centralized organization of Columban monasteries, it was in constant communication with Bobbio and Luxeuil. The *Vita S. Galli* mentions the arrival of a message from Luxeuil and of a letter from Bobbio[5]. Jonas tells us that St Gall often related to him the story of the miraculous draught of fishes[6]. It is evident from this that he frequently broke his journey at the cell when travelling between Bobbio and Luxeuil. As late as 846 cordial relations still existed between St Gall and Bobbio, as in that year a "confraternitas" was established, and a century later the exchange of manuscripts between the two places was still carried on[7].

There is no reason to believe that the cell differed in any essential respect from a small monastery in Ireland. As far as we can gather, the little settlement was surrounded by a vallum; two sides were formed by the Steinach brook and the Ira.

[1] *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, VII, 234 (1859).

[2] Cap. 18, p. 23: "Qui audiens Gallum nominari autumabat de pullo dici"; this sounds like a stock joke and was probably taken from the Irish *Vita primitiva*, the authors of which certainly knew the Gaelic name of the Saint.

[3] Zimmer, *Über alte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland*, p. 475.

[4] No. 237, Fol. 95 r; printed by Bruno Krusch in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 241. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Dr Mitius and Dr Heiland for their kind assistance.

[5] Ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 30, p. 38; cap. 32, pp. 40–1.

[6] "Hæc nobis supradictus Gallus sepe narravit," *Vita S. Columbani*, p. 77.

[7] Landsberger, *Der St Galler Folchart-Psalter*, p. 39, n. 1.

A number of rude huts, built of osiers and clay, surrounded the oratorium. The latter was made of the finest timber, put together with the greatest skill. No pains would be spared in adorning the interior. The Bible would be beautifully ornamented, but the sacred vessels were made of iron, because the Saviour was fastened to the Cross with iron nails[1]. The chapel was, however, so small that a man had to bend his head on entering[2].

The monks lived in separate huts, only assembling together in the chapel at the hour of prayer, or in the refectory for meals. St Gall himself, like St Columban at Luxeuil and Bregenz, had a cave to which he retired for silent meditation[3].

The Columban Rule prescribed a fourfold division of the day: prayer, work, reading, and fasting[4]. The first of these, the canonical office, was naturally the chief business of life, for then the monks strove to do on earth what the angels are doing in heaven. Eight times a day the chapel bell rang to call the monks to the opus Dei: Tierce, Sext, None, Vesper, Compline[5], Nocturnes, Matins, and Prime. The Mass was only celebrated on Sundays and Saints' days or special occasions. According to the *Vita*[6], St Gall said Mass immediately after the death of St Columban had been revealed to him in a vision. This day doubtless became a permanent festival in the Calendar of the Cell[7].

The work would be of two kinds. While the seniors were engaged in copying books and painting miniatures, or in teaching, the novices were doing hard manual labour[8]. They had to fell trees, dig out the roots, remove undergrowth, and take away stones, until a portion of the primeval forest was converted into arable land[9]. As all this was done with the most primitive of instruments, the work was laborious in the extreme. The garden

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 21, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, cap. 43, p. 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, cap. 19, p. 24. The cave was in the Sennwald, at some distance from the cell, while the caves of St Columban seem to have been near at hand.
[4] *Regula Monachorum S. Columbani*, cap. 3.
[5] Cf. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, p. 28, n. 3.
[6] Cap. 29, p. 37.
[7] Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 140 sqq.
[8] *Vita S. Galli*, cap. 26, p. 32: "opera manuum."
[9] A considerable area had been cleared by the middle of the eighth century; *Vita S. Galli*, ed. von Knonau, cap. 42, p. 51, n. 168; cf. *ibid.*, p. 72, n. 218.

had to be weeded; the orchard required attention. The brethren who were skilled in angling were often to be seen on the banks of the Steinach brook.

As reading was expressly prescribed by the Columban Rule, there must have been books in the cell. Willimar, the priest of Arbon, found St Gall "in spelunca legentem[1]." Johannes received from the Saint "interpretationes divinorum librorum[2]." As the Irish monks were wont to carry their libraries with them[3], it is permissible to suppose that St Gall himself presented his small store of books to the cell, just as Dungal later gave his to the Abbey of Bobbio.

We should expect to find at least a copy of the Gospels, a Psalter, Columban's commentary on the Psalms, the *Regula Cœnobialis*, a Missal, the *Hymnorum Liber Septimorum* of St Columban, a Penitential, and a few patristic works. The *Regula Cœnobialis* several times prescribes as a form of penance the recital of psalms, and from one passage it is clear that they must have been known by heart[4].

The little library of the cell doubtless received books from Bobbio. We happen to be very well informed about the literary knowledge of Jonas, the biographer of St Columban, and are thus able to form an opinion, however imperfect, of the books to which the community in the Steinach valley had access, either by borrowing them or having them copied.

Jonas entered the school of Bobbio about 618. His reading, as shown by quotations in his works, included Livy and Virgil, Juvencus, and above all the lives of the Saints[5].

There is no evidence of the existence of a school at St Gall before Othmar's time. The founder of the cell was a good scholar; he had been trained at Bangor, which was then one of the finest schools in Europe. According to the *Vita*[6], he knew canon law better than the Bishops of Speier and Augst. On three separate occasions the same work mentions that Gall instructed Johannes the deacon of Quaradaves in religious knowledge[7].

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, cap. 19, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, cap. 26, p. 32.
[3] Cf. Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 372.
[4] Cap. 3, p. 221.
[5] Concannon, *Life of St Columban*, p. 247.
[6] Ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 27, pp. 34 sqq.
[7] *Ibid.*, capp. 22, 26, 29, pp. 28, 32, 36.

We may safely assume that all the thirty-two *Libri scottice scripti* of the old catalogue were either brought to St Gall, or were written there before the introduction of the Benedictine Rule, i.e. before the middle of the eighth century. After the accession of Abbot Othmar, who had been educated in Rhætia, the use of Irish script, with its frequent ligatures and peculiar abbreviations, was definitely abandoned. All the books relating to ritual, the missals, hymnaries, psalters, and such works as the *Regula Cœnobialis* or Irish penitentials, were now obsolete; others would be superseded as soon as they had been copied in the Continental hand. This is why—if we accept Zimmer's ingenious conjecture[1]—the *Libri scottice scripti* are enumerated at the head of Grimald's catalogue.

Unfortunately there are no means of ascertaining which of these Irish books were at St Gall before 720 and which were added later. The probabilities are that many, if not most of them, belonged to the library of the pre-Benedictine cell.

Tradition associates Codex No. 913, the *Vocabularius Sancti Galli*, with the patron of the monastery, but as early as 1875 Scherrer proved that it could not have belonged to him[2], and we now know that it was the work of an Anglo-Saxon, not of an Irishman[3]. We can easily understand how the tradition might have arisen: *Vocabularius S. Galli* might mean the glossary of St Gall himself, or of his monastery (personified by its founder; cf. the phrase *Monachus Sancti Galli*). Only the second of these two meanings is correct, but in the course of time the name was misunderstood.

The fourth and last division of the day was set apart for fasting, which was probably a general term for the mortification of the flesh and silent meditation. The Rule of St Columban was characterized by all the severity of pre-Benedictine monachism. Obedience was enforced by the recitation of psalms, fasts, or corporal punishment, and the penitentiaries prescribed the exact number of stripes for each offence. The duration of a fast was regulated with the same precision.

[1] *Über die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelalterliche Cultur*, p. 56.

[2] *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 332.

[3] *Vide infra*, pp. 68–9; cf. Braune, *Angelsächsisch und Althochdeutsch*, pp. 378 sqq.; Ehrismann, *Geschichte der althochdeutschen Literatur*, p. 249.

Before setting out from Arbon to find a suitable spot for his hermitage, St Gall spent a whole day in fasting and prayer, "as was his custom[1]." After finding a place he took no food for the space of three days[2]. "His life was indeed hard and his nourishment scanty," writes his biographer Wettin[3]. The Saint practised other bodily austerities and frequent allusions are made to them in the *Vita*. The iron chain with which he had lacerated his flesh and the hair shirt he wore next to his skin were kept in a small box near the tomb of the holy man[4].

The Columban Rule contained very strict regulations with regard to prayer. On entering or leaving his cell, before commencing work or eating, a monk had to make his orisons. At meals the sign of the cross had to be made with the spoon before each mouthful of food was raised to the lips[5].

Great changes came in the time of Othmar (720–759) and his successor Johannes, when the cell developed into a Benedictine Abbey. Henceforward the Irish were a small minority. In the *Liber Confessionum*, which contains a list of the men who received the religious habit at St Gall during the abbacies of Othmar, Johannes, and Werdo, by far the greater part of the names are those of Swabians. Only four appear to be Celtic: Chincho, Elois, Keatri, Maelchomber. The Latin names afford little or no clue to the nationality of their bearers, but we know from other sources that several of them belonged to Rhætians[6].

However the Abbey was very near one of the chief routes to Rome, and it must have had a strong attraction for the countless Irish pilgrims by this route. There were special inns for their entertainment on the *via barbaresca*[7], the old Roman road up the right bank of the Rhine, leading from Brigantia (Bregenz) *via* Clunia, Magia, Curia (Chur) and thence over the Alps to Italy. One of these hostelries was at St Viktorsberg, which was only a day's journey from St Gall[8].

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 12, p. 15.
[2] *Op. cit.*, cap. 15, p. 19. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Op. cit.*, cap. 41, p. 50. Cf. Concannon, p. 69; Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 146; *Regula Cœnobialis*, ed. Seebass, cap. 13, p. 230. [5] *Ibid.*, cap. 14, p. 230.
[6] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, Nos. 6, 8, 9, 40.
[7] Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, p. 418.
[8] Meyer von Knonau in *Ratperti Casus*, p. 58, n. 144.

The appearance of the strangers must have been striking. They had long flowing hair and tattooed certain parts of the body, especially the eyelids[1]. Their tonsure went from ear to ear, that is to say, the front part of the scalp only was shaved, but after 718 they began to conform to the Roman custom. Their clothing consisted of a long plain robe (*cuculla*) of undyed wool tied by a belt, a cowl made from the same material, and sandals made from hide[2]. They were armed with a long staff (*cambutta*), a large leather wallet (*pera*), and a leather bottle (*ascopa*)[3]. They often carried with them a reliquary (*capsella*)[4]. Von Arx conjectured that it was they who introduced writing-tablets into Germany, because in Codex 242, p. 28, they are called "pugilares Scotorum[5]."

They seldom went alone, but usually flocked together in large parties. The famous scholar Dungal wrote in one of his letters that the Franks disliked his countrymen because of their noisy clamour, their importunity, and their large numbers[6]. Their love of wandering was proverbial. In an eleventh-century charter reference is made to the Irish "who, for the mortification of their bodies, and salvation of their souls, live in exile from their country, and go about visiting holy places[7]."

Tradition has not preserved the name of those "half-Latin Scots" who wrote the earliest life of St Gall about 745. Bruno Krusch, the learned editor of the three biographies, considers that the *Vita primitiva* was written by a German because of its simplicity of style[8]. This reason is not convincing. If the Celt often indulges in florid language, why should he be incapable of writing a plain unvarnished narrative on occasion? We might instance as proof to the contrary the *Vita Mariani*, which was certainly the work of an Irishman.

[1] Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*, I, 227, 237: "Stigmata, signa, pictura in corpore quales Scoti pingunt in palpebris."

[2] Meyer von Knonau, *Vita S. Galli*, p. 12, n. 267.

[3] In an old gloss *ascopa* is rendered "flasco, similis utri de coriis facta, sicut solent Scottones habere," quoted by Von Arx, *Berichtigungen und Zusätze*, p. 29.

[4] *Vita S. Galli*, cap. 12, p. 16, n. 72.

[5] Von Arx, *loc. cit.*

[6] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, 146.

[7] Meyer von Knonau, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 232.

But there is strong internal evidence that speaks against Krusch's supposition. It is true that the existing fragments of the oldest *Vita* are not from the original, but an eleventh-century copy, still even in this later version we meet with orthographical peculiarities that are unquestionably of Irish origin[1]. As these fragments are very brief, there are naturally few examples, but there are enough to settle the matter decisively. One of the most typical cases is the use of *s* for *ss*, e.g. *gresus* and *iusit* instead of *gressus* and *iussit*. In the *Vita primitiva* we also come across *p* for *b* in *previor*. Further the extraordinary abbreviations: *ob*[*tu*]*lit*, [*vi*]*r*, [*v*]*iri*, are unmistakably Celtic.

One of the Irish monks of St Gall, about whom we are entirely ignorant, wrote a book mentioned in the oldest catalogue, namely an account of the translation of the patron's relics into a new church in 835[2]. He may have been identical with the man whom Gozbert ordered to write a Latin metrical biography of St Gall[3].

There is abundant evidence of the presence of Irish monks at St Gall in the ninth and tenth centuries. Ekkehard's dictum: "Scotigenæ pro se nidificant velut ipse (i.e. Gallus), Tanquam Germani vivunt ibi compatrioti," is true of the whole period. The first of these birds of passage of whom anything is known is mentioned in Walafrid Strabo's *Libellus Secundus de Miraculis S. Galli Confessoris*, written before 836. The passage[4] runs as follows:

> And once certain newcomers of the nation of the Scots, in whom the habit of wandering has become almost a second nature, left at this monastery one of their fellow-travellers, who was afflicted with many diseases. When he had stayed here for some days, and had daily prayed, with implicit faith, for the healing of his infirmities, one night he saw in a dream an old man of venerable aspect standing beside him. He asked the stranger who he was, and learnt that he was St Gall. And forthwith he said to him: "Thou seest, 'domine,' that I, whose body is quite wasted away, daily wait for a manifestation of thy powers. Do not, therefore, delay further in what I believe thee to be about to do. I know I have been preserved all the time

[1] Cf. Hellmann, in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, I, 118 sqq.

[2] *Quaternio I de relatione translationis S. Galli in novam ecclesiam*; cf. Meyer von Knonau in *Ratperti Casus*, p. 29, n. 72.

[3] Codex 265, p. 66. Von Arx, *Berichtigungen und Zusätze*, p. 15.

[4] Ed. Bruno Krusch, cap. 46, p. 336.

to this end that, just as thy virtue is revealed far and wide to these barbarians, in the same way the splendour and fame of thy merits may also be made known to the men of thy race."

The pilgrim was healed, and Strabo asserts that he was still living at the Abbey and was leading a holy life[1].

In consequence of the great veneration in which St Gall was held by the monks of his monastery, the countrymen of the Saint were honoured guests. During his stay at St Gall between 850 and 855, Ermenrich, a monk of Reichenau, extolled the country which had produced such a holy man. "How could we ever forget the island of Hibernia," he wrote, "from whence we received the radiance of such a great light, and whence the sun of faith rose for us?[2]"

It was, however, in the nature of things that friction should occasionally occur. As we have seen, the Irishman healed by St Gall called the Swabians "barbarians." The Celts looked upon St Gall as their own monastery. But when for several centuries the Abbey had been entirely Swabian in character, when the monks had their own local traditions, their own local saints, like Magnus and Othmar, they came to look with suspicion upon the eccentric and overbearing strangers. An Irishman named Dubduin bitterly complained of the lack of respect shown to his countrymen at St Gall. His poem is to be found in a tenth-century manuscript[3], and runs as follows:

These are the illustrious saints whom our noble island of Hibernia reared as her glorious children; whose grateful faith, virtue, honour, and blameless life hallowed these palaces and lofty pleasant houses[4]. They strewed over the fields of England the seeds of faith, and now ye gather the ripe fruits into your storehouse. And we are their brothers, sprung from the same stem as they; we, whom ye arrogantly despise as pitiful weaklings, ye princes and swollen up members of the world; rather should ye appear as members of Christ. Here the prudent man stops—nay Gall himself is also buried here[5]; the bright flame of the Scots has risen to the skies. Dubslan has won a name

[1] Ed. Bruno Krusch, cap. 46, p. 336.

[2] Codex 265, p. 82. The best edition of Ermenrich's letter to Grimald is that of Dümmler in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Epistolæ*, v, 536–579.

[3] Codex 10, p. 3. Printed in Von Arx, *Berichtigungen und Zusätze*, I, 20–1. A bad facsimile in Cooper, Appendix to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 92.

[4] Cf. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 38, note.

[5] "Prudens hic pausat quin Gallus atque sepultus."

for himself. Grant, O King of Heaven, that I may be as worthy to be mentioned as Faelan. Dubduin made these verses, should anyone inquire, singing in verses and with his lips, yet calling you friend (?).

Dubduin's indignant protest was not without its justification. Even the saintly Notker Balbulus, the mildest and most peaceable of men, indulges in gentle satire on the Irish in that delightful collection of anecdotes the *Gesta Caroli Magni*[1].

"Charles himself," he says, "was already lord in the western part of the world, yet scholarship was almost forgotten in his whole empire, and at the same time the worship of the true God had grown cold: then it came to pass that two Scots from Ireland arrived with some British merchants at the coast of Gaul, incomparably well versed in sacred and profane lore. Having no other wares to sell, they cried out daily, time after time, when buyers streamed near: 'He who hungers for knowledge should come to us and receive it, because it can be bought here.' But the reason why they called out that wisdom could be bought from them was because they saw that people prefer to obtain things that have to be paid for, rather than that which may be had for nothing. Their intention was to urge men thus to purchase wisdom, just as they purchased other things, or—as the event shows—only to amaze them and to attract their attention. Finally they had shouted out their pet phrase so long that those who listened in wonder, or who even deemed them mad, bore the news to King Charles, who always loved wisdom and ardently desired it. Charles ordered them to be brought before him as quickly as possible, and asked them if they really possessed the true wisdom, as he had heard to be the case. They answered: 'Yes, we have it, and will gladly impart it to those who ask for it becomingly and in the Lord's name.' And when Charles proceeded to ask what they charged for it, they replied: 'We only crave of thee, O King, suitable places of residence and gifted men, food, drink, and clothing, without which this earthly pilgrimage cannot be completed.' At this answer the King was very well pleased, and first he kept them both with him for a while. But then, as the course of events made it necessary for him to take the field, he allowed one of them called Clemens to live in Gaul. To him he entrusted numerous children of noble, of good, and even of low birth, ordered such necessaries to be given them as they required, and allowed them to have suitable class-rooms. But he sent the other[2] to Italy and appointed him to teach in the monastery of St Augustine at Pavia, to which everyone could go who wished to study under him."

[1] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, ed. Pertz, II, 731.
[2] I.e. Dungal. Cf. Traube, *Die vier Dungali*.

It is quite likely that Clemens and Dungal came to Gaul together, but they did not come as early as Notker supposed. Incidentally we might add that Notker Balbulus was speaking *en connaissance de cause*, because he was himself the pupil of a great Irish scholar, and seems to have been rather proud of the fact[1].

The following table contains the names of the Irish monks who are known to have been in some way associated with the Abbey.

Name	Status	Date of death	Source
Adamnan	Deacon	Jan. 6 (?) [before 1078]	N.
Brendan	Monk	Nov. 19 (?) [before 1078]	N.
Chincho	Monk	[fl. 720–759]	L.P.
Clemens	Monk	July 2 [before 956]	L.B., N.
Congan	Priest	June 14 [second half of ninth century]	N.
David	Magister	Nov. 27, 1139	N.
Dominus	Abbot	Jan. 6 (?) [after 1122]	N.
Dubduin	Monk (?)	[after 991]	D.
Dubslan	Priest	Sept. 12 [fl. 891?]	D.N.
Elois	Monk	[fl. 750–800]	L.P.
Eusebius	Recluse	Jan. 31, 884	E., L.B., N., R.
Faelan	Magister	June 3, 991	A., N.
Fortegian	Monk (?)	[fl. eleventh century (?)]	V.
Gregorius	Abbot	Nov. 16 [after 1142]	N.
Hepidan	Monk	[fl. 1070]	W.
Keatri	Monk	[fl. second half of ninth century(?)]	L.P.
Macharius	Abbot	Jan. 6, 1153	N.
Maelchomber	Monk	Jan. 28 [second half of ninth century]	L.P., N., R.C.
Marcus	Bishop	March 1, c. 875	E., N., R.C.
Moengal (Marcellus)	Deacon	Sept. 30, 869 (?)	E., N., R.C.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. *Annales Sangallenses Majores.*
D. Dubduin's poem quoted above.
E. Ekkehard's *Casus S. Galli.*
L.B. Ekkehard's *Liber Benedictionum.*
L.P. *Liber Promissionum.*
N. *Necrologium.*
R. Ratpert's *Casus S. Galli.*
R.C. Reichenau *Confraternitates.*
V. Von Arx in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 79, n. 11.
W. *Vita S. Wiboradæ* (Codex 761), p. 374.

[1] "Magistro meo Marcello," Codex 396, p. 316; printed in Gerbert, *De Cantu*, I, 412.

It is no mere coincidence that a large proportion of these monks entered the Abbey in the ninth century. The great Celtic scholar Zimmer has shown that the social and political condition of Ireland at this time forced hundreds of scholars to leave the country and take refuge in Continental monasteries[1]. About the year 840 a number of monks, who had been driven from Leinster by the Norse invasion, entered the Swabian abbeys of Reichenau and Rheinau. Among them was Findan, who in 851 entered the monastery of Rheinau, where he died as a recluse in 878. His name is in the St Gall *Liber Confraternitatum*[2].

Among the Irish monks of St Gall none was more highly venerated than St Eusebius. Ekkehard IV eulogizes him in the *Liber Benedictionum*, and adds in a gloss that he was a recluse for fifty years[3]. This is evidently an error; Ratpert's *Casus* has thirty years, which is nearer the truth[4].

St Eusebius is said to have come to St Gall in the year 841[5]. If we are to believe Ekkehard, he was a learned man and a teacher in the school. In 854 he retired to St Victorsberg, a monastery near Feldkirch inhabited exclusively by Irish monks[6]. St Eusebius lived as a recluse, immured in a cell, until his death.

Ekkehard's account of Iso's birth appears to be mythical[7], but it does at least show that Eusebius was believed to possess the gift of prophecy. The Emperor Charles III (881–7) himself consulted the Irish saint; it was apparently in return for Eusebius' counsel that Charles bestowed St Victorsberg and the church on the Abbot of St Gall in 882. Both the *Necrologium* and Ratpert give St Eusebius' death as January 31 (884), and this is his day in the calendar[8].

One of the best-known episodes in Ekkehard's *Casus S. Galli* is the arrival of the Irish Bishop Marcus at the monastery[9].

[1] *Keltische Beiträge*, III, 108.
[2] *Das St Gallische Verbrüderungsbuch*, p. 51; cf. note (*e*); Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[3] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 55–6.
[4] *Ekkeharti Casus*, pp. 120–1, n. 417.
[5] Mabillon, *Annales*, II, 627.
[6] Staffler, *Das deutsche Tirol und Vorarlberg*, pp. 102–3.
[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 116–121.
[8] For the local tradition as to his death, *vide* Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan., III, 746.
[9] Cap. 2, pp. 8–10.

"At the time of Abbot Grimald," so the passage runs, "a certain Marcus, a bishop of the Scots, visited his countryman St Gall on his return from Rome. He was accompanied by his sister's son Moengal, later called Marcellus by our brethren after his uncle Marcus. The latter was most learned in divine and human matters. The Bishop was asked to remain for a while at our place; his nephew had been already invited. After deliberating together for a long time, they had still to make up their minds, and on the appointed day Marcellus distributed many of his uncle's coins through the window, fearing lest they should tear him in pieces, for indeed they (the servants of Marcus) raged against him, as if the Bishop had remained behind through his persuasion. Marcus divided his horses and mules among them, but his books, gold, and the pallium he kept for himself and St Gall. At length, having put on his stole, he blessed the departing servants, and with many tears on both sides they separated. The Bishop remained with his nephew and a few dependents who spoke his own language. After a time the inner school of the monastery was given to Marcellus with Notker, later called Balbulus, and the other boys who wore the monastic habit; and the outer one to Iso with Salomo and his contemporaries. It is pleasing to remember how much the monastery of St Gall began to grow under these auspices."

Now about this time we find an Irishman named Marcus among the friends of Sedulius, and some twelve years later a monk of this name was at Soissons. Mabillon was of the opinion that it was the St Gall Marcus who went to Soissons[1]. One objection is that the death of Marcus is entered in the St Gall *Necrologium*[2]. This certainly establishes a probability, but nothing more than a probability, that Marcus died at St Gall. Macharius, whose name is also recorded in the *Necrologium*, is known to have died at Würzburg and to have been buried there. A glance at the *Necrologium* will show that it includes the names of countless nobles and clerics who certainly did not die at St Gall. Marcus was an eminent scholar, a man of substance, and he had made rich presents to Abbot Grimald. That is sufficient reason for his being mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*.

Ekkehard's account seems perhaps to imply that Marcus intended to remain at St Gall for good, but he may have yielded to the earnest solicitations of Charles the Bald and have left the Abbey, or his Irish *Wanderlust* may have asserted itself once

[1] *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, sæc.* IV *a*, p. 385.

[2] Dümmler in *Mittheilungen der Zürcher Antiquarischen Gesellschaft*, XII, 260, n. 6.

more. As far as we know neither Marcus nor his nephew took the vow of stability at St Gall[1].

Let us carefully examine all the data. Heiric of Auxerre, who became a sub-deacon in the monastery of St Germain in 859[2], wrote a treatise on the miracles of this saint. When describing one of them, he names as his authority

> a holy old man, Marcus, a bishop of that nation, who was a Briton by birth, but educated in Ireland (*Hibernia*). After exercising for many years the sacred office of a priest, he imposed upon himself voluntary exile. Having thus been brought to France, attracted by the munificence of King Charles, he leads the life of an anchorite in the monastery of St Médard and St Sebastian, being the only philosopher of our time who is a man of perfect holiness[3].

It is important to note that Heiric expressly states that Marcus was a Briton (*Brittus*, not *Anglus*), e.g. a Welshman, because this strengthens the hypothesis that the anchorite of St Germain was the friend of Sedulius. It was Nigra who first pointed out the connection between Sedulius and Wales[4].

The approximate date of Marcus' arrival at St Gall is 850. Heiric wrote in 873[5], in which year the Soissons recluse was still living[6]; but he was an aged man. Heiric calls him a bishop twice; at St Gall he was referred to as "Marcus episcopus."

Traube conjectured that Marcus of St Gall was the same person as the friend of Sedulius[7]. This theory is well supported by the facts. As Heiric tells us, Marcus came to Soissons at the invitation of Charles the Bald. There is good reason to believe that Sedulius himself was an envoy to the French King. Moreover Fergus, Marcus' companion, wrote a poem in honour of Charles the Bald[8]. A certain "Marcus monachus" is mentioned in the *Codex Boernianus*, which was perhaps written by Sedulius himself[9]. The name is mentioned in connection with that of Johannes

[1] Their names are not in the *Liber Promissionum*.
[2] Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 370.
[3] *Miracula Germani*, I, cap. 6 in *Acta Sanctorum*, Jul., VII, 283.
[4] *Reliquie Celtiche*, pp. 12–13; cf. also *Sedulius Scottus*, pp. 342–3.
[5] *Miracula Germani*, *loc. cit.*, p. 288. [6] "Anachoreticam exercet vitam."
[7] Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 353. [8] *Poetæ Latini Ævi Carol.*, III, p. 200.
[9] Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 345; cf. however Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 148. The alternative theory, viz. that it was written at St Gall, is even more favourable to our hypothesis.

Eriugena, who was at the French court for years. It need not surprise us that Marcus should be called simply "monachus" instead of "episcopus." In Ireland the bishop was a mere official of the monastery under the authority of the abbot; sometimes his office was actually coupled with that of a scribe[1].

We know that about 848 Sedulius arrived at Liège accompanied by two of his fellow-countrymen. He probably came to the Continent with the Irish mission to Charles the Bald mentioned under that year by Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, in the *Annales Bertiniani*[2].

Sedulius was well received and enjoyed the hospitality of Bishop Hartgar. From this time onwards there was an Irish colony at Liège. Marcus and his three friends, Fergus, Beuchell, and Blandus, seem to have arrived a little later, for we find Sedulius addressing a poem of welcome to them[3]. He salutes the good brethren who have come to join him in the battle against the Devil and his works, and assures them of his affection. It would be a sin, he says, not to love such men. He addresses Fergus and Marcus as men of his own age, while Beuchell appears to be younger[4]. We shall have more to say of Fergus later.

Bishop Marcus proceeds on his way to Rome, accompanied by his nephew Moengal, whose name first becomes known to us in this connection. On their return journey they visit St Gall. Moengal joins the community, and, after some persuasion, his uncle is induced to remain also.

There was a great stir in literary circles at the time when Sedulius and his Irish friends arrived on the Continent. The theologian Gottschalk had been summoned before the Council of Mainz in 848, and his doctrines had been condemned as heretical. Sedulius wrote several treatises in defence of orthodoxy[5]. Traube has shown how he and the other members of his circle diligently noted down all passages in sacred or profane authors that could be brought against Gottschalk[6]. In fact one of the chief pecu-

[1] Cf. Zimmer, *Über direkte Handelsverbindungen*, p. 443.
[2] Traube, *op. cit.*, pp. 342, 345.
[3] *Poetæ Latini Ævi Carol.*, III, 199.
[4] "Quid facies, Beuchell, flos inter bellipotentes?"
[5] *Contra Godiscalc*, *vide* Zimmer, *Glossæ Hibernicæ*, p. xxxii.
[6] *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 352.

liarities of this school was the habit of making marginal notes in the form of names[1].

In 855 we find Sedulius writing a poem in honour of the consecration of Bishop Franco at Liège. Till 858 he continued to write voluminously; his reputation as a scholar and his flattering poems gained him the protection of the great. He stayed several times at the court of Gunthar (856–863), the learned Bishop of Cologne. He enjoyed the favour of the Emperor and his family and appears to have been in Italy[2]. After 858 no trace of him can be found.

While the Irish colony at Liège was busy writing, copying, and collecting manuscripts, there was another at Milan of which Blandus and Beuchell seem to have been members, an intermediate station at Salzburg, and another at St Gall. A number of very important manuscripts still bear witness to the great work done at these centres.

There is the St Gall Codex No. 904, the famous text of Priscian which came from Kildare and probably reached St Gall about the year 1000[3], when Liège and St Gall were in close communication with each other. Then there is Codex No. 48, the Greek and Latin Gospels, which was perhaps written by Fergus[4]; the Dresden *Codex Boernianus*, containing the Epistles of St Paul in Latin and Greek; Traube considers it almost certain that it was transcribed by Sedulius himself[5]. Finally we have the Berne codex[6] with passages from Horace, Augustine, Ovid, Dioscorides, Bede and others. It is interesting to note that the *Codex Boernianus* contains a fragment *De Lege Spiritali* by "Marcus monachus."

These manuscripts contain a number of Irish names which Traube has shown to be those of the monks who belonged to Sedulius' circle. They are: Fergus, Donngus, Dubthach, Cathasach, Congan, Johannes[7], Marcus monachus, Dermoth, Blandus and Beuchell.

[1] *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 347.
[2] Zimmer, *Über die Bedeutung des irischen Elements*, p. 52.
[3] Nigra, *Reliquie Celtiche*, pp. 14–15; Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[4] Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
[5] Cf. however Zimmer, *Glossæ Celticæ*, p. xxxvi.
[6] No. 363. [7] I.e. the great Johannes Eriugena.

It will now be quite evident that Marcus monachus is identical with the Irish bishop who became the guest of the monks at St Gall. But Moengal is not mentioned in any of the codices written by Sedulius and his friends. This is not at all surprising, because Moengal was really a nickname; he always refers to himself as "Marcellus." Now Sedulius, as we have seen, couples together the names of Fergus and Marcus. Traube surmises that the St Gall interlinear Gospels were written by Fergus; certainly this scribe had some connection with St Gall. It is a curious fact, and I do not think it has been noticed before, that *Fergus*, or the Cymric form *Gwrgwst*, meaning "the chosen one," is practically a synonym of *Moengal*, which in Gaelic signifies "the forefront of excellence." We might therefore hazard a guess that Moengal was the same person as Fergus.

Zimmer attempted to identify Moengal with a certain Maenghal, whose name occurs twice in the *Annals of the Four Masters*[1]. Under the year 844 there is a poem by Maenghal ailithir (the pilgrim) on the death of the High King Niall, and under 869 is the entry "Maenghal the pilgrim, Abbot of Beannchair (Bangor), died." Traube objected that Moengal died at St Gall and could not have been at the same time Abbot of Bangor[2]. This argument is not quite conclusive. Bangor had been several times attacked by the Danes. Abbots were appointed for centuries, but they were shepherds without a flock, like the later Abbots of Iona. We know that just about this time the famous Antiphonary left Bangor, and found its way to Bobbio[3].

Let us see how the dates given by the Four Masters correspond with those provided by St Gall manuscripts. The pilgrim was in Ireland in 844–5. Moengal arrived at St Gall about 850. He wrote charters in the years 853, 854, 855 and 860[4]; in the last mentioned year he is a deacon. He is mentioned in two charters of 865[5]. The pilgrim died in 869. Some difficulties remain. The Irish annals do not, as a rule, record the death of Irishmen who

[1] *Kleine Beiträge*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxxv (1891), 113. Four other men of the same name are also mentioned under the dates 850, 855, 873, 930.

[2] *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 361.

[3] Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, pp. xii–xiv.

[4] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, II, 44, 48, 60, 87.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124.

died abroad. They are silent about Columban and Gall, for example. It is true that there are exceptions, e.g. Virgil of Salzburg[1], but they are very rare. Hence we are inclined to suppose that the pilgrim died in Ireland. On the other hand Moengal's death is mentioned in the St Gall *Necrologium*. But it does not necessarily follow that he died at St Gall.

One of the many thousands of Irish pilgrims who passed through St Gall could easily have brought the news of Moengal's death. Mabillon asserts, though without giving his authority, that Moengal accompanied his uncle Marcus to Soissons. It is unlikely that Moengal was Abbot of Bangor while he was at St Gall, or else he would probably have signed himself "abbas" instead of "diaconus" in 860, or the annals of the Abbey would have recorded his title and rank. But what reason have we to connect Maenghal the pilgrim with St Gall? As far as I know we have none.

Moengal was a man of learning; he taught all the seven liberal arts[2]. His literary capacity was not exhausted by the writing of a few charters. It is, however, only recently that any non-legal manuscripts have been attributed to his pen. The first is a Greek and Latin Psalter now at Basel[3], in which there is the inscription: "Huc usque scripsi. Hinc incipit ad Marcellum nunc." It is not disputed that this manuscript was copied by Irishmen. The hand is Celtic and there is a poem in honour of St Bridget which speaks of "nostra insula, que vocatur beatissime[4]." The Greek text is closely allied to that of Salomo's Psalter. The conclusion is that the scribe Marcellus was no other than Moengal of St Gall.

A second manuscript, of which the St Gall origin is certain, is preserved in the Zürich library[5]. This is a copy of the New Testament without the Gospels. Both at the beginning and the end are the words "Liber Sancti Galli" in a fifteenth-century hand, and the seventeenth-century coat of arms of the Abbey is

[1] Cf. also the very untrustworthy notice under the year 1085, which seems to refer to Marianus of Ratisbon.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 97.

[3] University Library, No. A, VII, 3. *Vide* Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de la Suisse*, p. 389.

[4] Berger, *De la tradition grecque*, p. 115.

[5] *Zentralbibliothek*, No. C, 79. Weidmann, *Geschichte der Stiftsbibliothek*, p. 432; Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 3.

also to be seen. The two scribes name themselves "Marcellus monachus" and "Gisalbertus subdiaconus[1]." In St Gall manuscripts only one monk called Marcellus is mentioned, namely the Irishman Moengal. As the latter was a deacon in 860, he would only have described himself as "Marcellus monachus" before that date[2]. It remains to identify Gisalbertus. The name is fairly common, but Kisalpreht, who witnessed charters in 847 and 852, was a contemporary of Moengal. The work of two different scribes can be clearly recognized in this part of the manuscript[3].

From the following note in Purton Cooper's Appendix to Rymer's *Fœdera*[4], it would seem that Moengal also wrote original works:

> Homilie composée par un Scottigène de S. Gall, nommé Moengal ou Marcellus (mort en l'an 864)—"Elle doit se trouver dans un manuscrit Sangallois qui, à l'époque de la réformation, est tombé dans les mains de Mr Geldart, écrivain célèbre de ces tems. La Bibliothèque entière de ce savant est depuis passée à Bremen, où elle fait partie de la Bibliothèque de la ville ou du Gymnase (College) de la ville."...For. Corr.[5]

Dr Hans Behrens of Hamburg, who undertook a thorough search for the lost homily, assured me that it was not to be found at Bremen, either in Goldast's library or in any other collection. As, however, a number of manuscripts were taken away from this city by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War, there remained a possibility that it was in Stockholm[6].

Purton Cooper's notice is very unreliable. He writes "Geldart" for "Goldast"; he gives an erroneous date for Moengal's death,

[1] P. 197, *recto*.

[2] He signs as "monachus" in 853, and "indignus monachus" in 854; Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, Nos. 424, 429.

[3] I am indebted to Dr Werner for this information. Dom Morin, in his description of the manuscript, identifies Marcellus with the scribe of the St Gall charters, thus placing the codex in the middle of the ninth century.

[4] Appendix A to Rymer's *Fœdera*, Supplement, p. 7.

[5] The writer of this note was not a Frenchman, or he would not have written "Bremen" for "Brême" and "réformation" for "réforme."

[6] I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Dr Arne Holmberg, Director of the Royal Library, for his courtesy. He writes: "No manuscripts of Goldast's collection have been found in the Royal Library of Stockholm. The director of the Section of Manuscripts has also told me that most probably no such MSS. exist in any other Swedish library."

because the latter is mentioned in St Gall charters in 865. Cooper's catalogue of manuscripts relating to Great Britain and Ireland is so unsystematic, inaccurate, and uncritical that very little credence can be attached to it. It is therefore doubtful whether Moengal's homily exists at all.

Besides Marcus and Moengal, several other Celtic monks seem to have found their way to St Gall in the second half of the ninth century; among them were probably Congan, certainly Clemens and Maelchomber. The first of these belonged, if we are not mistaken, to the circle of Sedulius. His name is mentioned in the *Second Necrologium* (Codex 453): "xvii kal. Jul. Conganus Scottus monachus atque presbyter obiit[1]." The entry is in the first hand, and was therefore made about the year 1190[2]. However, this manuscript is nothing but an amplified copy of the *First Necrologium*. As it happens, the page in question (July 11–22) is torn out of the earlier *Book of the Dead*[3]. But considering that all the other Irish names to be found in the *Second Necrologium* are included in the first, it is highly probable that this also applies to the name Congan.

Although unmistakably Irish, this name was rare in Ireland. It only occurs once in the *Annals of the Four Masters*[4]. Another instance is in a charter of the Irish monastery of Hohenaugia, which was on an island in the Rhine near Colmar. One of the community signed as a witness: "S. Conigani ep*iscopi*[5]." The charter is copied from an original written in 810. We also meet with a scholar of this name among the learned friends of Sedulius. In the *Codex Boernianus* of the Pauline Epistles, *Cōgan* is written in the margin[6]; the Berne Horace manuscript has the fuller form *Comgan*[7]. This monk was closely associated with Johannes Eriugena. About the middle of the ninth century he was at one of the Irish centres on the Continent, perhaps Laon or Liège, and it is possibly he to whom the obit in the St Gall *Necrologium* refers.

[1] *Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, p. 398 (ed. Hermann Wartmann).
[2] "Scriptus est hic Codex annò 1190," manuscript note by Von Arx on leaf at beginning of the manuscript; cf. Wartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 455.
[3] *Das St Galler Todtenbuch und Verbrüderungen*, p. 3.
[4] Connegan, A.D. 853.
[5] Mabillon, *Annales*, II, 695–700; Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. xiv.
[6] Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 351. [7] *Ibid.*

Although not as rare as Congan, the name Clemens was not particularly common in Ireland. There are only four examples in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. But we find four monks of this name in Germany. The reason is obvious. Celtic names must have sounded barbarous on the Continent. The name of a Father of the Church had venerable associations. Some Latin names, like Gallus and Marcellus, were nicknames; others, like that of Gregorius of Regensburg[1], were given by some illustrious personage, by a king or a pope; in other cases an Irishman may himself have adopted a cognomen which was intelligible and pronounceable. It is reasonable to assume that many Irish monks would assume the name borne in an earlier generation by some illustrious compatriot so that in time certain names came to be in vogue[2].

The first Clement was one of those turbulent individuals who opposed St Boniface in his work of ecclesiastical reform[3]. He had received the episcopal ordination, but had no diocese. He held confused views about predestination, and he did not acknowledge the authority of some of the Fathers of the Church. In 749 a synod at the Lateran pronounced the anathema against him as a heretic.

About 798 the second Clement, surnamed the Scot, came to Charlemagne's court at Aix-la-Chapelle. He succeeded Alcuin as head of the court school, and was the teacher of Lothair, the future emperor, to whom he dedicated a grammatical treatise[4].

He was one of the most famous teachers of his day[5]. Notker Balbulus refers to him in the opening chapter of his *Monachus Sangallensis*[6]. After the death of Charlemagne, there is no further trace of him[7]. A Würzburg *necrologium*[8] gives the day of his death: "IV Kal. Jun. Clementis presbyteri magistri palatini,"

[1] *Vide infra*, pp. 49–51.

[2] Cf. Reeves, in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, VII (1859), 242–3.

[3] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, I, 511 sqq.; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, 4th ed., II (1867), 302.

[4] Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, I, xix; cf. also Mario Esposito, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXX, Section C, No. 1 (1912), pp. 8–14.

[5] Hauck, *Deutsche Kirchengeschichte*, II, 174, note.

[6] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 732.

[7] *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 121; cf. Hauck, *op. cit.*, II, 555–6.

[8] Ed. Dümmler in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, VI (1866), 116 sqq.

and Ozanam adds the year 826[1]. Dümmler suggests that he ended his career in Würzburg[2].

We know that Clement the Scot was a different person from the St Gall monk of the same name, because the *Book of the Dead* gives the latter's obit as July 2: "VI *Nonas* [Jul.] Ob*itus* Clem*en*tis Scotti et Heinrici beatæ memoriæ regis optimi et Thiotonis laici[3]." As the whole entry is in the same hand, and Henry I died in 936, we have a *terminus a quo* for the entry. If we accept Wartmann's view, the passages in this hand were written in 956[4]. Ekkehard IV calls Clemens "a very holy countryman of St Gall" and couples his name with those of Marcus and Marcellus[5]. Zimmer, following Von Arx, maintains that he was a teacher in the St Gall school, and makes him a contemporary of Faelan, who died in 991[6]. I do not think that the existing evidence supports this statement. In the first place, Ekkehard's remark is a gloss added to explain who Clemens was. If he had been a teacher in the school, his memory would have been kept alive by his pupils for one if not for two generations, and Ekkehard's gloss would have been unnecessary. Moreover the entry in the *Book of the Dead* was made by the first hand.

Curiously enough, only one St Gall monk of this name is mentioned in charters. Clemens signed as a witness in 895, after the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, as fifth of the monks[7]. The inference is that he was then quite young. As Wartmann points out, his name is not to be found in the *Liber Promissionum*[8].

There was a fourth Irish monk named Clemens. He was a member of the mission which had its headquarters in Ratisbon in 1076. Either he accompanied Marianus to Bamberg, or he came over a few years later from Ireland to join his celebrated countryman. All that is recorded of him is that he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and died there[9].

[1] *Œuvres Complètes*, IV, 517.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
[3] Codex 915, p. 326.
[4] *Das St Galler Todtenbuch*, ed. Dümmler and Wartmann, p. 3.
[5] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 56.
[6] *Über den Einfluss des irischen Elements*, p. 36; *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 278.
[7] *Urkundenbuch*, II, No. 697, p. 300.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 300, n. 1.
[9] Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., II, 364.

Maelchomber was one of the few Irishmen who took their vows at St Gall. The name of this monk occurs twice at St Gall: in the *Liber Confessionum*[1] and the *Necrologium*[2]. His obit is on Jan. 28, and the position of the entry in the *Liber Confessionum* shows that he entered the monastery in the second half of the ninth century. Moreover a Reichenau *Liber Confraternitatum*[3] gives a list of St Gall monks which contains the name of "Marcellus alius Moengal[4]"; and, only three lines further down, "Mealchomber[5]." This makes it clear that the two men were contemporaries. A little higher up we meet with the name of Marcus[6]; and, lower down, with that of Clemens[7]. This last fact adds further support to the theory that the St Gall monk Clemens was a member of the small group of Irishmen who were to be found at the Abbey in the days of Grimald and his immediate successors. To return to Maelchomber, the name, as Dr George Calder very kindly informs me, is derived from "Mael-Conchobar," i.e. "the servant of Conchobar." It is a distinct parallel to that of one of the scribes who wrote the St Gall Priscian: "Calvus Patricii[8]," i.e. "the servant of Patrick."

Beyond the fact that he was "a Scot, a monk, and a priest," and that his obit is on September 12[9], we know nothing of Dubslan. In order to save his memory from complete oblivion, Dubduin eulogizes Dubslan as one of the famous Irishmen associated with St Gall. The name Dubhslaine or Dubhshlaine occurs three times in the *Annals of the Four Masters*[10], but none of the three men in question can have been the St Gall Dubslan.

On the other hand the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells a story of three Irishmen who, in 891, left their native country in a boat made of ox-hides, and, trusting to divine guidance, took neither oars nor rudder. After a week's voyage they landed on the coast of Cornwall, and were received by Alfred the Great at his court. They thence continued their journey to Rome, their ultimate

[1] *St Gallisches Buch der Gelübde*, p. 156.
[2] Codex 915, p. 302: "Et melchombri [obitus]."
[3] Edited by Piper in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Confraternitates*, p. 169.
[4] Column 49, line 23.
[5] *Ibid.*, line 26.
[6] Line 15.
[7] Line 50.
[8] Codex 904, p. 157; *vide* Scherrer, p. 319.
[9] Codex 915, p. 336: "Et *est* ob*itus* dubsalani scoti mon*achi* atq*ue* pres*biteri*."
[10] A.D. 878, 1003, 1024.

goal being Jerusalem. Their names were Dubslane, Maccbethu, and Maelinmun.

There is another version of the story in Ethelwerd's Chronicle, in which the miraculous element is more conspicuous. The earlier account is so typical of the ways of Irish pilgrims that it may be accepted as accurate[1]. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that Dubhslan joined the St Gall community on his way back from Rome, but there is not sufficient evidence to establish the facts.

Faillan, who died on June 3, 991, was a teacher in the St Gall school[2]; the *Necrologium* adds that he was "a learned Scot and a most kind teacher." The *Annales Sangallenses Majores* record his death: "991 Faillan the Scot of blessed memory departed this life[3]." Dubduin also alludes to him. Hermann of Reichenau, who used the same sources as the *Annales Sangallenses Majores*, calls him "a learned Scot[4]." Carl Henking expressed his surprise that Ekkehard IV makes no reference to such a famous teacher[5]. But Faillan was not the only great Irish scholar whose name was soon forgotten at St Gall.

In the eleventh century only sporadic traces of the Irish influence at St Gall can be discovered. There is the poem of Dubduin, with which we have already dealt in detail. Unfortunately nothing further is known of its author. Two other names that may be added in this connection are those of Fortegian and Hepidan. That both are Irish is clear from the linguistic form. Fortegian's name occurs in the list of Irish monks given by Von Arx in his *Berichtigungen und Zusätze*[6]; Zimmer also refers to him[7]. But I have not been able to ascertain from what source Von Arx obtained the name; perhaps it was from the obituary of some other monastery. Hepidan was the author of a biography of St Wiborada, written in 1072, and his name is

[1] Cf. footnote in Earl and Plummer's edition, II, 103 sqq.

[2] "Magister scholarum in S. Gallo," Von Arx in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, I, 81.

[3] *Annales Sangallenses Majores*, ed. Carl Henking, p. 299.

[4] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, V, 117.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 299, footnote.

[6] P. 19.

[7] *Über die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelalterliche Cultur*, p. 51.

on the title-page[1]. Goldast erroneously attributed to him the authorship of the *Annales Sangallenses Majores*[2].

What reason have we for identifying David of Würzburg, otherwise known as "David the Scot," with the St Gall monk of the same name? In the first half of the twelfth century we find three Irishmen at Würzburg: Macharius, Gregorius, and David. These names are added to the St Gall *Necrologium* by the same hand and a fourth name, also that of an Irishman, was added about the same time. This cannot be a mere coincidence.

What was the date of these additions? The second *Necrologium*[3] omits nine names[4] that are contained in the first[5]; five of these are Irish. Why were these names left out? Not from carelessness, because at least three of them are in one hand, and they belong to definite, homogeneous groups. Nor was it due to any prejudice against the Irish, because all the other names of Scottish monks were duly transcribed in the second obituary.

The only possible explanation is that these nine names were absent from Codex 915 when this was copied towards the end of the twelfth century[6]. They were added afterwards. Hermann Wartmann recognized that the names Eberhardus and Cotescalh were later additions; he also stated that "Gallus" was written "abominably in a later hand[7]." Several scribes seem to have made additions to the first *Book of the Dead*: one before 1078 (the date of the last entry in the manuscript), perhaps four after this date. One of these later hands added the names Machthild, Hemma, Adalhait[8]—three women who were presumably benefactresses of the Abbey. Three entries were made in the twelfth

[1] Cf. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 178; Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 279.

[2] Cf. Carl Henking, *Nachwort zur St Galler Annalistik*, p. 359, in the *Mit. zur vat. Gesch.*, vol. XIX.

[3] Codex 453.

[4] Macarius (Jan. 6), Gallus (Oct. 17), Gregorius (Nov. 16), Brendanus (Nov. 19), David (Nov. 27), Waldharius (Jan. 13), Werinherus (April 29), Eberhardus and Cotescalh (Nov. 9).

[5] Codex 915.

[6] "Scriptus est hic Codex anno 1190," manuscript note by Von Arx on leaf inserted at the beginning of Codex 453; cf. Wartmann, *Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, p. 454.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 55, n. 3.

[8] Codex 915, pp. 311, 316 *c*, 322. *Vide* Wartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 2; p. 44, n. 1.

century. They commemorate men slain (i) by the Normans at the battle of Civitate (1053), (ii) by the Bohemians in 1040, (iii) in some other campaign in 1061. The men slain by the Bohemians are grouped together with Hunfrid, the Swabian Archbishop of Ravenna, who died in 1051, and these names are copied from a contemporary source by a twelfth century hand[1].

Finally there are the five Irish names: Macharius, Gregorius, Brendanus, David, and Gallus. There can be little doubt that these also were added to the manuscript after the year 1190. Hermann Wartmann pronounced Gregorius, Brendanus, and David to be in the same hand[2]. He made this observation *en passant* because these names occur close together in the manuscript. I would go still further and include Macharius in the same category. There is a striking resemblance between the obits of Macharius and Gregorius; in each case "piæ memoriæ" is written above the name.

I think the sentence "Et obit*us* dominus abas (sic) atq*ue* scott*us* Gallus[3]" was added by an Irishman, but consider it very doubtful if it was written by the same scribe as the other four names. It is scrawled in the margin, and actually on the wrong day: October 17th instead of the 16th! This is the more remarkable because there was plenty of room on the line above. Now the name of St Gall, the patron of the Abbey, is quite out of place in the *Necrologium*, which is really an official register of all persons for whom masses were to be sung on the anniversary of their death. But St Gall had been canonized in the first half of the ninth century; his soul was therefore in Paradise and beyond the need of prayer and intercession. Moreover the Saint is referred to as "Dominus Abbas." Anyone who was at all acquainted with the history of the Abbey would know that Othmar was the first to bear this title. At St Gall the patron is generally called "Beatus Gallus Confessor"; as far as I am aware the designation "Dominus Abbas Gallus" does not occur in any other St Gall manuscripts. This fact, together with the unusual rudeness of the writing, points to an ignorant and uneducated scribe.

[1] Wartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 44, n. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 58, n. 3; p. 59, n. 2.
[3] Codex 915, p. 242. The entry is obviously ungrammatical, and should run: "Obitus domini" etc., or: "Obiit dominus," etc.

Let us now turn to the other names. Macharius and Gregorius were abbots of the Irish monastery (Schottenkloster) at Würzburg, and David was a teacher at the Cathedral school in the same town. It might be as well to say a few words about the origin of the Irish monastery.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Irish pilgrims to Palestine took the overland route by way of the Danube and Vienna. An Irish mission[1] was sent to Bavaria to found hostelries for these pilgrims. A small community led by Marianus, a native of Ulster, made their headquarters at St Peter's, Ratisbon, in 1076. In 1090 they removed to St James', a larger monastery in the same town. In 1134 they obtained an abbey at Würzburg, of which the church was consecrated in 1140. Other religious houses were built in other towns and eventually they were formed into a congregation of Irish monasteries[2]. The last that we hear of them is the somewhat ludicrous episode of the Scots of Ratisbon. Armed with a Bull of Pope Leo X, a community of Scotch monks drove out the Irish and entered into possession. They had been able to persuade themselves and even the Pope that the abbey belonged to the Scots and *ergo* not to the Irish, because the original holders were referred to as "Scotti" in charters and title-deeds[3].

No mention is made of Marianus in St Gall records. This is rather what we should expect, because he died about 1088. It was not till much later that the Irish names we are considering were inserted in the *Necrologium*. But we must add another Irish abbot's name to our list, that of Dominus. In his enumeration of the names to be found in the first *Book of the Dead*, and omitted in the second[4], Wartmann does not include Dominus, but this is an oversight. The obit of Dominus is missing in Codex 453[5]. This is not surprising, because Dominus died between 1120 and 1134. His name immediately follows that of Macharius in the first *Necrologium*, but it is perhaps not in the same hand.

[1] The standard work is Wattenbach, *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster*.
[2] Other centres were Nürnberg, Constance, St George's, Vienna, St Mary's, Vienna, Eichstädt, Erfurt, and Kelheim.
[3] Zimmer, *Über alte Handelsverbindungen*, I, 391.
[4] *Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, p. 454, n. 3.
[5] P. 127.

It is an important fact that there is a gap of forty-three years between the two obituaries. The last date of the first is 1078, the earliest of the second is 1121[1]. Now this period exactly coincides with the stormy abbacy of Ulrich III. We know that shortly before 1078 there was at least one Irishman at St Gall, namely Hepidan.

After 1121 we again find Irish monks connected with St Gall. Evidently some attempts were made, on the return of peaceful conditions, to revive the literary activities of the Abbey and it was to Würzburg that the monks of St Gall looked for assistance. The following table will serve to elucidate the matter.

ABBOTS OF THE IRISH CONGREGATION IN BAVARIA

I. St Peter's, Ratisbon (founded 1076)

(i) Marianus (1076–ca. 1088)
(ii) Benedictus (ca. 1088–1090)
Domnus (1090– ?)

II. St James', Ratisbon (founded ca. 1090)

(i) Domnus (ca. 1090–after 1122)
(ii) Christianus (ca. 1124 (?)–ca. 1150)
(iii) Gregorius (ca. 1150–after 1160)

III. St James', Würzburg (founded 1134)

(i) Macarius (1134– ?) died 1153
(ii) Gregorius (floruit 1138)
(iii) Carus (floruit 1140)
(iv) Declanus (ca. 1150– ?)

We will not enter into all the chronological difficulties presented by this table. The sources are unreliable and contradictory. Evidently a good deal of confusion has taken place. Domnus of St Peter's was obviously the same person as the Abbot of St James', but there is some doubt about Gregorius of Ratisbon and Gregorius of Würzburg. According to Aventinus[2], Gregorius, the second Abbot of Würzburg, had been Prior of Ratisbon. Christianus is said to have died in Ireland "in the middle of his days[3]."

[1] H. Wartmann, *Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, p. 454, n. 4.

[2] *Annales Boiorum*, p. 631. Ingolstadt, 1554.

[3] "Abbato etiam Christiano in Hibernia in dimidio dierum suorum moriente," "Vita Mariani," p. 371, in Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., Tom. II.

If Gregorius as Prior of Ratisbon was left in charge of the monastery during the Abbot's absence in Ireland, the belief may later have arisen that he was actually the Abbot himself. But Gregory of Würzburg received his name from the King. This makes it extremely unlikely that at one and the same time there were two abbots of the same name in Irish monasteries forming part of the same congregation, and closely associated with each other.

Another peculiar circumstance in this list of abbots is the shortness of their reigns. Domnus, the seventh successor of Marianus, lived only a generation later. Either the abbots were very old men at the time of their election, or else they did not hold office till death. Some of them may have handed over the government of their abbey to a successor in order to devote themselves exclusively to ascetic practices, just as Abbot Hartmuot did at St Gall.

Abbots may have been frequently transferred to other monasteries, especially in the early stages of the mission, when new communities were being formed in rapid succession. Ratisbon and Würzburg formed, as it were, training-schools in monastic administration. There is one further possibility: were the Abbots of Ratisbon by virtue of their office also Abbots of Würzburg, whereas the latter abbey was ruled by priors? Was there the same relation as between St Gall and Bobbio? For this reason, or for the more obvious one of the similarity of the two names, the two abbeys dedicated to St James appear to have been frequently confounded.

The first Irish abbot commemorated in the St Gall *Necrologium* is Dominus, who in the *Vita Mariani* and other sources is always called Domnus, which corresponds to mediæval usage[1]. He is described as the seventh successor of Marianus[2], but this is scarcely possible, because Domnus was abbot towards the end of the eleventh century, and St Peter's was only founded in 1076. Either the confusion is due to the causes already indicated; or seven, the number of Marianus' first disciples, was erroneously transferred to his successors.

[1] *Dominus* meant "God," *domnus* "temporal lord."

[2] "Septem Abbates venerabiles ejusdem sancti viri Mariani digni successores...quorum ultimus erat...Domnus," Vita Mariani, p. 368, in Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., Tom. II.

This at least is certain: Domnus was the last Abbot of St Peter's. He was consecrated about the year 1090, and built St James', Ratisbon, because the old abbey had become too small for the community, which was constantly being reinforced by new recruits from Ireland[1]. In 1130 an Irish king sent rich presents to Ratisbon[2]. In 1111 the new church was consecrated, and in the following year the Scots of Ratisbon received a charter from Henry V. In 1122 Domnus was still alive. Reeves suggests that his real name was Donnchadh or Ferdomhnach[3].

His successor, Christianus, was consecrated by Pope Innocent II (1130–1143). If Domnus, Gregorius, and Macharius were all remembered at St Gall, why should no mention be made of Christianus? The reason seems to be that he died in Ireland. He is not mentioned by the Four Masters, but Christianus was probably not his baptismal name[4].

Christianus sent Macharius to be the first abbot of the monastery of St James the Greater in a suburb of Würzburg. He was famous throughout Ireland for his learning. As St Mochonna he is the patron of Aberdeen. He led a holy life; he did not drink wine or eat dainty fare; he practised fasting and other bodily austerities. In the presence of many prelates of the church he is said to have changed wine into water; this miracle was duly recorded on his tomb. It is related that, when seated at the table of Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153), he saw the towers of Würzburg in a vision. According to the local tradition, many miracles were performed by him during and after his lifetime. He died in 1153[5]. According to Reeves, his original name was Suigech[6].

Gregorius, the Prior of Ratisbon, described as a vigilant and mild man, full of the Holy Spirit, a prudent and circumspect person in the management of affairs, succeeded Macharius as Abbot of Würzburg. About 1142 he rebuilt the monastery, which

[1] In 1112 the new monastery received a charter from Henry V.

[2] Tordelbach O'Brian, King of Munster, *vide* Stephanus Vitus, *Chronicon Ratisponense*, s.a. 1130.

[3] Reeves, in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, VII (1859), p. 243, footnote.

[4] Reeves suggests that Christianus was a translation of Gilla-Christ, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–5, note.

[5] Trithemius, *Annales Hirsgauenses*, I, 400; an account of his death, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 309, footnote.

had been hastily constructed by Domnus, in hewn stone, adding a lead roof, a paved floor, and cloisters with an aqueduct. His biographer especially praises his great liberality to the poor, and adds that, after a short abbacy, he passed away with a cheerful spirit[1].

The fourth Irishman in this little group was David the Scot, the chaplain of Emperor Henry V. After taking holy orders he went to foreign parts in order to acquire knowledge[2]. He studied in Upper Germany (in superiorem Germaniam), and then took charge of the Cathedral School at Würzburg, where he remained for many years. Henry V, attracted by his learning and the uprightness of his character, chose David as his chaplain, and ordered him to write a history of the Italian campaign of 1110. This he did, in a very clear and popular style. Strange to say, he even commended the Emperor's action in taking the Pope prisoner. His work, as John Bale aptly observes, is not so much a history as a panegyric. William of Malmesbury saw the book and quoted it[3].

In 1120 David was consecrated Bishop of Bangor (in Carnarvon) and in the same year his name is mentioned in connection with the translation of the relics of St Dubricius[4].

In 1137 we find David once more in Würzburg; he became a monk in the monastery of St James the Greater[5] because of the admiration he felt for the holy life of his compatriot Macharius, the first Abbot. Johannes Trithemius, who later was the head of the same monastery, enumerates the works of David the Scot which were still extant in his day[6]: they include a commentary on Aristotle, also two epistles, in which he expounded his doctrines to his friends. His successor at Bangor was consecrated in 1139, and the inference is that he died in that year or earlier. The St Gall *Necrologium* has his obit on November 27.

[1] Vita Mariani (written ca. 1184) in Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., Tom. II, pp. 370–1.

[2] Ekkehard of Aura's Chronicle, s.a. 1110, in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, VI, 243. For his services to learning, *vide* Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 535.

[3] *William of Malmesbury*, ed. Hardy, II, 656. London, 1856.

[4] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 661; F. Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 618.

[5] J. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsgauenses*, I, 349, 403–4.

[6] *Loc. cit.* Another, and slightly different list in John Bale, *Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium*, p. 79.

Adamnan is described as a deacon, Brendan as a monk. Their obits are in the same hand as those of Dominus and Gregorius respectively. This clue points to Bavaria. The names of Macharius, Dominus, and Adamnan are all entered under January 6. Only twelve Irishmen are referred to in the first *Necrologium*, and of these three are placed under one date. It would indeed have been rather remarkable if all three had really died on the same day. I am inclined to think that, although Macharius' obit may be correct[1], Dominus and Adamnan were just added to keep him company, regardless of the real date of their decease. We need not therefore regard Adamnan's obit as absolutely certain.

If the name Adamnan occurred alone, we should be inclined to think that it belonged to some monk connected with the Bavarian mission. But it occurs in conjunction with that of Brendan. Now Adamnan and Brendan were two of the most popular Irish saints. Their obits, together with that of St Gall, are added to the Calendar in the Karlsruhe Bede manuscript, which was written in Ireland, and later belonged to the monastery of Rheinau[2]. Just as a later hand inserted the obit of St Gall to the first *Necrologium*, it is quite possible that those of St Adamnan and St Brendan were added in the same way. Finding December 29, St Brendan's day in the Calendar, occupied, the scribe may have looked about for a blank space and found one on December 19, in which there was no entry.

There must have been a close connection between this mission and St Gall between ca. 1125 and 1150. There is good reason to believe that in this period attempts were made to revive the intellectual life of St Gall. Abbot Werner (1133–1167) reformed both the discipline and the administration of his Abbey. He renewed in 1145 the "confraternitas" with Reichenau, which had fallen completely into abeyance[3], and it was probably during his abbacy that St Gall was associated with the Irish monasteries of Bavaria.

[1] This is not by any means certain. The *Vita Mariani* gives no obit, but the *Acta Sanctorum* state the date of his birth: "De eo plenius agemus ad 19 Decemb. qui B. Macario natalis," Feb., Tom. II, p. 371, note *d*.

[2] *Glossæ Hibernicæ*, ed. Zimmer, Addenda et Corrigenda, p. 12.

[3] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 290; T. Schiess, *Geschichte der Stadt St Gallen*, p. 31.

Here I might point out a peculiar circumstance. Abbot Werner's obit, on July 6[1], is in a very similar hand to those of the Irish abbots we have just been discussing; and, in my opinion, it belongs to the twelfth century. Abbot Werner died in 1167; but as Wartmann contends that the last date in the first *Necrologium* is 1078[2], he finds himself in a serious dilemma, from which he tries to extricate himself by saying that this obit does not refer to the St Gall Werner at all, but to the head of some other monastery, perhaps that of St Blasien[3]. He admits that the obit of the latter is on September 28. Wartmann does not include Werner's name among those omitted in the second *Necrologium*[4] although he explains in a footnote that the Abbot Werner commemorated in this manuscript under July 6 cannot be the same as the one mentioned in the first *Necrologium* under the same date[5]. The course of events is, however, quite clear. Codex 915 was practically completed in 1078, and it was in this state when Codex 453 was copied from it in 1190. After that had taken place, but not long afterwards, the Irish names Domnus, Macharius, etc. and that of Abbot Werner were added. Codex 453 had Werner's obit from some other source[6].

The extreme dates of the events commemorated by the last scribe or scribes of Codex 915 are: 1090 (death of Domnus) and 1167 (death of Werner). By the end of the century relations between St Gall and Bavaria seem to have ceased. Further light is thrown on the whole question by the fact that in 1142 Bishop Henry of Constance, "probably out of veneration for St Gall," as Wattenbach adds, gave a church in Constance to the Scots of Ratisbon. Accordingly a colony proceeded to Constance under Abbot Macrobius. It would appear that Bishop Henry, in whose diocese St Gall was situated, called upon the Scots of Ratisbon and Würzburg to help in the work of re-organization at St Gall. It may be objected that this Bishop is not even mentioned in any St Gall documents. But the *Necrologia* have a decided gap.

[1] Codex 915, p. 327.
[2] *St Galler Todtenbuch und Verbrüderungen*, p. 10.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 77.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 454.
[5] *Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, p. 401, note *d*.
[6] The difference in spelling is noteworthy: Codex 915 has "[Obitus] et Wernheri abbatis," Codex 453: "Et est obitus Werinheri abbatis."

They record the holders of the see from the year 839 to 1069[1] and then begin again in 1182[2]. The civil war must have led to the loss and destruction of many records.

If St Gall was associated in some measure with the Bavarian congregation, we might expect to find some trace of this in Bavaria. Unfortunately the sources are fragmentary. But it is highly significant that in the twelfth century "Schottenkirche" of Ratisbon, built by Irish monks in a very un-German style of architecture, there is a chapel dedicated to St Gall. In a treaty dated 1387 the town of St Gall and the Scots of Nürnberg are once more granted what appears to have been an ancient privilege of freedom from tolls[3].

Let us resume the results of this chapter. It will be seen that, quite apart from the continual stream of Irish pilgrims who passed through St Gall on their journey to or from Rome, there were three successive waves of Irish immigration at St Gall. First there was the seventh century, the age of missionary effort; second the ninth century, in which a general exodus from Ireland took place on account of the depredations of the Danes: this was the floodtide of Irish influence on the Continent. Lastly, in the twelfth century, the current flowed again, this time from the congregation of Irish monasteries in Bavaria. The first period is associated with Bangor, the second with Kildare and possibly Iona, the third with Ratisbon and Würzburg.

[1] First Necrologium, *vide St Galler Todtenbuch und Verbrüderungen*, pp. 70–2.

[2] Second Necrologium, *vide Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, p. 433.

[3] *Älteste Liste der Verrufenen und Verbannten der Stadt St Gallen*, p. 161, in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, XI, St Gall, 1869.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-SAXON INFLUENCE

After the appearance of Braune's excellent monograph[1], it is no longer possible to doubt that the Anglo-Saxon mission under St Boniface (678–755) left marked traces on the German language. Nor is this surprising if we consider that in the first half of the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxon priests in Germany were to be counted by the hundred. They were most numerous in Thuringia, Hessen, and East Franconia, which were still heathen in spirit. When St Boniface's task was nearing its completion there were whole districts in which every village had its Anglo-Saxon parish priest.

The foreign ecclesiastics had to express themselves in the language of their parishioners. They found no equivalent for many expressions, and hence coined words on Anglo-Saxon models. With characteristic British conservatism they respected the native linguistic traditions and, wherever possible, they grafted the new word on the old stock. Thus by various channels, but above all through that of the sermon in the vernacular, Anglo-Saxon habits of speech found their way into Germany.

That St Boniface and his Anglo-Saxon monks took a very active part in the early literary development of Germany is beyond dispute, although many details are obscure. The prevalence of the insular script in the second half of the eighth century is almost entirely due to their efforts. The Celtic missionaries had introduced their script in the seventh century, but it had been gradually ousted by the Merovingian hand in the monasteries of Irish origin. The Anglo-Saxons re-introduced it, and for a time the continental and insular characters existed side by side and contended for the mastery. In the first half of the ninth century the insular script disappeared. Many of the oldest literary monuments in the German language contain Anglo-Saxon characters, and the *Basler Rezepte* were written by a British monk.

Nor was the influence of St Boniface's mission merely limited

[1] *Angelsächsisch und Althochdeutsch.*

to externals. It affected literature very considerably. The Anglo-Saxon Christian epics were undoubtedly known in Germany. It has been conclusively proved that the poets of the *Heliand* and the Old Saxon *Genesis* were acquainted with Anglo-Saxon literature.

We have good reason to believe that Anglo-Saxon verse was also known in Central and Upper Germany. Braune conjectures that the *Muspilli*, written about 870 in the Bavarian dialect, was suggested by the Anglo-Saxon *Christ III*[1].

Besides Christian poetry in the vernacular there were two other tangible results of British literary activity in Germany, viz. the monastic annals, and, to a certain extent at least, the Old High German glosses.

In the monastery of St Germain des Près, Pertz made the very interesting discovery of a ninth-century manuscript, copied from an older source, and containing short annals from Lindisfarne (643–664), followed by others from Canterbury (673–690). Pertz hit upon the ingenious explanation that Alcuin brought the original manuscript from Northumbria to Charlemagne's court, and added the names of the places at which the Emperor celebrated Easter between 782 and 787. Then the monks of St Germain added their own annals in the customary manner[2]. Alcuin's pupil Arn, who was consecrated Bishop of Salzburg in 785, took a copy of the manuscript with him to Bavaria, and it formed the nucleus of the Salzburg annals[3].

But even before Alcuin's time Lindisfarne annals were copied on the Continent. They are to be found in the oldest known historical records made in Germany: the *Annales Antiquissimi Fuldenses*, which were written at Fulda by an Anglo-Saxon[4].

These historical records were first marginal remarks added to the Easter tables, and of extreme brevity. Short observations were added in the blank space left after the year had been entered. Later the notices became more detailed and finally they were copied out of the Easter tables into a special manuscript.

[1] *Angelsächsisch und Althochdeutsch*, p. 380.

[2] Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen*, I[2], 87 sqq.; Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Scriptores*, IV, 2.

[3] Hauck, I, 383 sqq.

[4] Kaufmann, p. 259.

Many Old High German glosses contain Anglo-Saxon words, others are translated from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The *Codex Fuldensis* of the New Testament contains Latin glosses in insular script which may have been added by St Boniface himself[1]. The Old High German interlinear translation of Tatian's *Gospel Harmony* was written at Fulda. The scribes were certainly Germans, but they had been trained in a school in which Anglo-Saxon traditions were observed, as many peculiarities of their orthography testify.

Of the two oldest glosses in the St Gall Library one, the *Vocabularius S. Galli*, is undoubtedly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and the other, the so-called *Vocabularius Keronis*, is in the Bavarian dialect. It is not at all likely that vernacular glosses developed in Bavaria *ab ovo*; it is safer to assume that they had their antecedents elsewhere. There is no evidence that the Irish monks in Bavaria wrote Latin-German glosses. On the other hand it is quite reasonable to suppose that the idea was brought in by the Anglo-Saxons[2]. It must be remembered that the latter had no great difficulty in understanding the dialects of Germany. Hence they were able to use the vernacular as the language of teaching and to approach Latin by means of the vulgar tongue.

In the Anglo-Saxon schools of Fulda and Mainz, glossography was practised; in the middle of the eighth century Old High German glosses were made in Bavaria. These are the facts; it remains to find a connecting link. If the main sphere of Anglo-Saxon influence was Northern and Central Germany, it was by no means limited to these regions. As early as 734 or 735 we find St Boniface in Bavaria, and in 739 Duke Odilo summoned him to organize the Bavarian Church. He founded new monasteries, e.g. Benediktbeuren[3], and his reforms must have infused new life into older centres like Freising and Salzburg.

St Boniface took Sturm from Bavaria to the North. Together they founded the Abbey of Fulda in 744. It was quite natural that the apostle of Germany should look to Bavaria, which was

[1] Kaufmann, p. 259.

[2] Even Braune, who is very sceptical with regard to Anglo-Saxon influence in the *Keronisches Glossar*, admits the presence of theological technical terms coined by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, *loc. cit.*, pp. 379, 396, 407.

[3] Hauck, I, 465.

already Christian, to provide him with recruits for his missionary campaign in heathen districts, and it is noticeable that at least two of the first four abbots of Fulda were Bavarians[1].

The appointment of Arn to be Bishop of Salzburg has already been mentioned. We are told that he brought his library with him from Elno[2]. Another pupil of Alcuin's, the Anglo-Saxon monk Wito[3], was sent to Salzburg: for the express purpose of teaching in a Bavarian school.

Having now briefly considered the general results of the Anglo-Saxon mission on the oldest German literature, which results can be resumed under the five heads of script, vocabulary, Christian poetry, annals and glosses, it now remains to be seen by what means these influences reached St Gall, to search for the names of the men who were instrumental in bringing them, and to find out what relics of Anglo-Saxon scholarship are still preserved in the St Gall Library.

As early as 744 the public records of St Gall began to be affected by certain Anglo-Saxon orthographical peculiarities[4]. In the second half of the century these peculiarities gradually gained ground at St Gall until they had been, so to speak, officially recognized. After the partial introduction of the Benedictine Rule in or about the year 747 the door to British influences was opened wider.

It is interesting to note that in the time of Waldo, who was Dean of the monastery from 770 to 782, and then head of the chapter till 784, a marked improvement took place in the Latinity of the public records[5]. This reform was evidently the work of Waldo himself. Between 770 and 782 he drew up twelve deeds in his own hand, and in 779 he witnessed one drawn up by another scribe; all these documents are on a higher literary level than anything that had preceded, and what is more important is that the Latin style is freed from the Romance elements which had hitherto characterized the St Gall official documents. Ratpert makes an allusion to Waldo's skill as a calligrapher[6], and the manuscripts themselves show that Ratpert's praise was well

[1] Pongs, *Hildebrandslied*, p. 197.
[2] Hauck, I, 384.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Kaufmann, p. 254.
[5] Henning, *loc. cit.*, p. 158.
[6] *Casus S. Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 16.

founded. Unfortunately we are not told where Waldo was educated. His knowledge of Latin and his proficiency as a calligrapher were not obtained at St Gall. The fact that his Latin is comparatively free from Romance words and idioms points to an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Merovingian seat of learning; the Latinity of Britain was based partly on the classics, and, to a much greater extent, on the Vulgate, on the Fathers of the Church, etc., while that of Gaul, Italy or Rhætia was contaminated by the vulgar tongue.

It was, moreover, during Waldo's time[1] that the *Vocabularius S. Galli* was copied at St Gall. The scribe was either an Anglo-Saxon monk or a German trained at an Anglo-Saxon school. He transcribed it from a lost original written about 750 by an Anglo-Saxon. Not only are some of the sources used and occasional words in the glosses unquestionably English, even the spelling (*c* used for *k*, even before *e* and *i*: *cela*, *cinni*) is British, and not Merovingian. Hence we are inclined to regard Waldo as the man principally responsible for the original introduction of Anglo-Saxon methods and ideas at St Gall and the obvious conclusion would be that he had studied at some such centre as Fulda or Mainz. It is not likely that he was born before 730, because he died in 813.

Waldo's active interest in the Abbey of St Gall did not cease after 786, in which year he became Abbot of Reichenau, because it was in this period that a "confraternitas" was established between the two neighbouring monasteries, and even after 806, when he was made Abbot of St Denis, we do not lose sight of him altogether, because his death (March 29) is recorded in the *Book of the Dead*. One reason why his name was honoured at St Gall was because he had been chosen by the monks themselves to be their head[2], but apparently the Bishop of Constance, who was attempting to assert his authority over the monastery, forced him to abdicate and put in Werdo (c. 786–812). Charlemagne intervened and compensated Waldo by giving him the Abbey of Reichenau[3]. It is a curious fact that in the *Liber Promissionum*, a later hand, possibly a partisan of the Bishop of

[1] About 780.
[2] *Mit. zur vat. Gesch.* 9, 137.
[3] *Ibid.*, 13, 16 sqq.

Constance, erased the name of Waldo and allowed that of his successor to stand.

Abbot Waldo stood high in Charlemagne's favour as we know from a passage in the *Epistolæ Caroli*, No. 30, p. 396[1]. While at Reichenau, Waldo must have been in close touch with the imperial court and he obtained manuscripts from Alcuin at Tours. He also sent the Reichenau monk Wadilcoz to study in Charlemagne's Court School under Alcuin[2]. As this was a period in which the relations between Reichenau and St Gall were very cordial, Waldo's connection with Alcuin can hardly have failed to benefit the latter monastery.

It was during the abbacy of Alcuin's pupil, Rabanus Maurus (822–842), that the school of Fulda became the first in Germany. In 838 a company of fifteen monks were sent to Hirsgau[3], and doubtless small colonies also proceeded to other monasteries. During this period the school of St Gall first began to emerge from obscurity. This was due to the energy and foresight of its abbots, who sent monks to be trained at Fulda.

Engilberht and Hartmuot, the first teachers in the St Gall school whose names have been handed down to us, were both pupils of Rabanus Maurus. Thanks to their efforts the school became so renowned that Ermenrich left Reichenau to complete his studies under them. The St Gall monk Werimberht and Walafrid Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau (842–849), who was united to St Gall by many close ties, were also trained at Fulda.

Possibly more light would be thrown on the relations between St Gall and Fulda if it could be discovered when the manuscript of Tatian's *Diatessaron* came to the Swabian monastery. It was written about 830 by German scribes at Fulda, but is not explicitly mentioned in the oldest St Gall catalogue. It may have been included in the "Evangeliorum vol. 4," but a Gospel Harmony is not accurately described in this way. In the catalogue of 1461 it appears as "Plenarium de quatuor unum latinum et theutonicum[4]."

If we have ample material for investigation when dealing with the question of the Irish monks at St Gall, the search for Anglo-

[1] In Jaffe's *Monumenta Carolina*.
[2] Hauck, II, 565.
[3] Trithemius, p. 5.
[4] Weidmann, 367, 403.

Saxon names leads to meagre results. A close study of the official documents creates the impression that there were very few Anglo-Saxon monks in the monastery. The task of finding them is fraught with many difficulties. As we shall see, the St Gall scribes generally wrote Anglo-Saxon names in the corresponding Alemannic form, thus making them totally unrecognizable or doubtful, thus Cynefrith and Ælfric appear as Cunifrid and Albrich.

Unfortunately the present state of our knowledge with regard to word-geography leaves very much to be desired. Förstenmann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* and Searle's *Onomasticon* contain a good deal of useful material, but this is only a beginning. If we possessed onomastica of every Germanic dialect, it would not be difficult to discover which themes are peculiar to Anglo-Saxon and the identification of British monks would be brought within the reach of enquiry. With regard to the Swabian dialect all that can be said at present is, that the following themes are common: *Alb-*, *Burc-*, *Engil-*, *Erim-*, *Heri-*, *Hild-*, *Irmin*, *Not-*, *Rat-*, *Wer-*, *Willi-*, *Witi-*, *Wolf-*; *-ari* (*-eri*), *-bald*, *-berht*, *-frid*, *-ger* (*-ker*), *-hart*, *-helm*, *-heri*, *-ilo*, *-mann*, *-mar*, *-muot*, *-ram*, *-rich*, *-wig*, etc. A host of St Gall names might be either Anglo-Saxon or Swabian. For instance, *Waldo* might be the Anglo-Saxon *Wealda* or Weald with the addition of the common Alemannic suffix *-o*, *Mauuo* might be *Mauua*. The name alone is no criterion in such cases.

Searle includes in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* the names of three St Gall monks: *Winithar*, *Othmar* and *Iso*. There is no reason whatever to suppose that they were Anglo-Saxons; in the case of the first it is very unlikely, in that of the other two quite impossible. Winithar was the scribe of Codex 251, a volume of Bede's works; he styled himself in the preface "indignus Winitharius abba," but it is not known of what monastery he was the abbot. The manuscript dates from the ninth century. The name also occurs in a grant of land (A.D. 904), and in the catalogue of monks, from which we learn that a certain Winitharius was a contemporary of Notker Balbulus, and held the very responsible office of "portarius," which would scarcely have been given to a foreigner. The script used in Codex 251 is of the

St Gall type; that is, in itself, not conclusive, because so was the handwriting of the Irish monk Moengal.

Let us examine the name. Searle explains it as the latinized form of *Winidhere*, which is undoubtedly correct. In Jordanus it appears as *Venetharius* (a king of the East Goths), which corresponds to the original Gothic form of **Winiþa-harjis*; in Old High German we find *Winid-heri*. The etymology is clear: it means "Wendish warrior[1]." Searle gives a few names beginning with *Winid-*, *Wind-*, but does not include this in his list of themes. It must have been rare in Anglo-Saxon because of the few examples in the *Onomasticon*, some of which do not appear to be genuine Anglo-Saxon names at all, but it was common in Old High German[2]. This is quite natural because the Wends were the neighbours of the Germans and not of the Anglo-Saxons. Moreover the Anglo-Saxon form would have umlaut, and we should hence expect *-erius*, not *-arius*.

There was another Winitharius at St Gall, in the eighth century. He was the scribe of Codices 2, 70, 238 and 907; he also signed deeds in the years 761 and 763, and styled himself "presbyter." On the whole we may safely conclude that Winitharius II was not an Anglo-Saxon.

In the reference to Othmar, Searle quotes the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. The latter distinctly states that he was "a native of Alemannia." Walafrid Strabo, in the *Vita Sancti Otmari*, wrote: "Otmarus genere Alamannorum oriundus, in ætate puerili a fratre suo Rhætiam Curiensem perductus est." We have the fullest information concerning Iso[3]. We know the names of both his parents and his two brothers. They lived in Thurgau and were hence Alemanns.

Of all the hundreds of St Gall monks whose names have been handed down to us, only one can be confidently claimed as a native of Britain. The St Gall Codex of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (No. 243) concludes with an epilogue by the scribe Eadbeorht[4]. He says that he has now concluded the arduous task of transcribing the book. "Those who do not know how

[1] Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personennamen*, pp. 260 sqq.
[2] Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, I, 892, s.v. Winid.
[3] See also Meyer von Knonau in *Mit. zur vat. Gesch.* XV, p. 116, n. 400.
[4] For the spelling, see Henning, *Q.F.* 3, 143.

to write, do not think that it is labour; it is true that only three fingers write, but the whole body toils." He then calls upon the reader to pray for his soul, and adds: "Ora pro nobis, beate Galle." The manuscript, which is mentioned in the oldest catalogue[1], was written at St Gall in the first half of the ninth century by an Anglo-Saxon[2]. He had lived long enough on the Continent to acquire the Carlovingian script. There is no mention of Eadbeorht in any of the St Gall official documents, so that he may have been an inmate of another monastery, who spent a year or so at St Gall. The name occurs in the Alemannic form in a deed dated September 1, 764[3], as Ôtpret, but this is scarcely the same person. On the other hand the name occurs no less than three times in the necrologium of Fulda, the deaths of two priests and one monk named Otbraht being recorded under the dates 842, 864 and 869[4].

If Anglo-Saxon monks at St Gall are a doubtful quantity, there is no doubt that the contribution of Britain to the intellectual life of the monastery was considerable. Anglo-Saxon scholarship was held in high esteem. Notker Balbulus referred to Bede as "the most learned priest, who was indeed the ablest commentator of Holy Writ since St Gregory." There were several copies of Bede's works in the abbey library, and a much later tradition, first recorded by Metzler, tells of a visit to St Gall by the historian of the English Church[5]. This is proved to be unfounded by Bede's own statement that he never left the monastery of Jarrow.

We also know from Notker's anecdotes how popular Alcuin was at St Gall. He was more learned in every branch of knowledge than any teacher of his time, and a pupil of Bede[6]. Even Charlemagne was proud to call himself Alcuin's scholar. His learning bore such fruit that, according to Notker, the Gauls and Franks became the equals of the old Greeks and Romans in scholarship. Such was his fame and skill that there was not one of his pupils who did not become a holy abbot or a famous bishop. We know that Alcuin's text-books were used at St Gall for

[1] Weidmann, p. 383.
[2] Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, Leipzig, 1885, p. lxviii.
[3] Wartmann, No. 2.
[4] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, XIII, 174.
[5] Codex 1408, p. 583.
[6] This was not literally true, *vide* Hauck, II, 120.

teaching grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. Well might the monks of St Gall venerate Alcuin's memory, for was not their own Abbot Grimald (841–872) trained by him?

It is rather surprising to find in the list of "confratres" or associates of the Abbey no less a person than King Athelstan of England. In Codex 915, which contains the official chronicle of the monastery up to the second half of the eleventh century[1], we find the following passage:

> In the year of the incarnation of Our Lord 929, the second of the indiction, Keonwald, the venerable bishop, after visiting all the monasteries throughout Germany with liberal oblations of silver which had been entrusted to him by the King of the English for this purpose, came to the monastery of St Gall at the Ides of October. He was received most kindly by the monks, and after celebrating with them the festival of our patron, he remained four days. And on the second day, that is on the anniversary of St Gall's burial (i.e. Oct. 16), he entered the church, taking with him a large sum of money, part of which he placed on the altar, giving the rest for the use of the monks. After this he was conducted into our monastery, and all the community gave him the daily allowance of one monk, and promised to say for him for ever the same prayer as we are wont to repeat for each one of our brethren, both in his lifetime and after his death. These are the names which he asked to be inscribed: Adalstean King of the English, Bishop Keonowald, Wighart, Kenvun, Conrat, Keonolaf, Wundrud, Keondrud.

These names were added, together with those of eight other Anglo-Saxon bishops, to the list of the *Confraternitates Sangallenses*[2]. The statement that Athelstan's envoys had visited all the monasteries of Germany must be taken *cum grano salis*. The embassy pursued in the main political aims and was part of Athelstan's scheme for strengthening his position by means of foreign alliances.

Cyneweald and his companions were also received at the Abbeys of Reichenau and Pfäffers. In the former their visit is only mentioned in the list of "Confratres[3]," in which we find: "Athelstæn, Wlfelm, Wighat." The second name is that of Wulfhelm, Archbishop of Canterbury. Curiously enough the *Liber Confraternitatum* of Pfäffers[4] contains far more Anglo-

[1] Piper, *St Galler Totenbuch*, pp. 136 sqq.
[2] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Confraternitates*, p. 332.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 281. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 363, columns 23–4.

Saxon names than that of the mother monastery. The list begins "Athelsten rex"; this entry may date from 929; then it proceeds: "Otmundus rex, Odgiva, Odo archiepiscopus," i.e. Eadmund I, the brother and successor of Athelstan; Eadgifu, the latter's sister; and Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury. As Odo was not consecrated till 942, and Eadmund died in 946, the entry must have been made between these two dates. From this we may conjecture that another Anglo-Saxon embassy was sent to Pfäffers by Eadmund. Odo may have been on his way to Rome to receive the pallium.

At the time of Ekkehard IV (c. 980–1060) the visit of Bishop Cyneweald was forgotten, but Æthelstan's name still lived on in a corrupt form in the Abbey traditions, as is shown by the following passage in the *Casus*:

> But as Otto was staying for some time in England with King Adaltag, his father-in-law, in order that, with their united strength, he might subdue Chnut, King of the Danes, Ekkehard strenuously carried on the government of the Abbey, as he had been accustomed to do during the lifetime of the Abbot, until the confirmation of his election by the Emperor could take place[1].

Otto I was Æthelstan's brother-in-law, not his father-in-law, and he never went to England. No Danish king of the name of Knut existed in the first half of the tenth century, but Chnuba was a contemporary of Henry I and in 934 these two monarchs were at war with each other. Adaltag was Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen from 937 to 988.

What relics of Anglo-Saxon influence are to be found at present in the St Gall Library? It is by no means easy to distinguish between Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts, at St Gall, because the script is the same in each case. All previous lists of insular manuscripts at St Gall[2] are either incomplete or inaccurate or both, and none of them make any attempt to differentiate between Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts. This is sufficient justification for making a new list[3].

[1] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 294; cf. n. 977.

[2] Purton Cooper, Appendix A to Rymer's *Fœdera*, pp. 78–96; Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 639; Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge*, pp. 81–5; Schulze, *Über die Bedeutung des irischen Elements*, pp. 239 sqq.

[3] *Vide* Appendix B.

The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts at St Gall do not tell us very much. Their inferiority in number and importance to those of Irish origin shows how much more numerous the Celtic monks at St Gall were than the Anglo-Saxons. But if the numbers of the latter were negligible, the debt of St Gall to Britain was immense. Ireland produced many men of rare talent and conspicuous ability, but no single scholar who left behind him such monumental works of learning as Bede. None of her sons left behind him such enduring marks of organizing ability as St Boniface. No Irish teacher did so much for the cause of education as Alcuin. It is no exaggeration to say that the contribution of these three men to the greatness of St Gall can scarcely be overestimated.

It has been pointed out[1] that the dialect of most, if not all, the Anglo-Saxon fragments at St Gall is Northumbrian. This is just what we should expect. Alcuin was educated at York, and most of his helpers were probably Northumbrians. The North of England was more advanced in learning than the South until the devastations of the Danes destroyed its civilization.

The most interesting specimen of Old English in the St Gall Library is the only extant version of Bede's *Death Song*. Codex 254 contains several of Bede's works; in the last few pages (252–6) there is a letter from one of his pupils to a friend entitled: "De Valetudine et Obitu Venerabilis Bedæ Presbyteri." In this beautiful description of the close of the great scholar's life the following passage occurs:

> He uttered a saying of St Paul the Apostle that it is terrible to fall into the hands of the living God; and many other things from Holy Scripture, whereby, foreseeing his last hour, he admonished us to awake from the sleep of our souls, and also in our own tongue, being learned in our songs, he spoke of the terrible departure of the soul from the body.

Then follows the poem itself, which is free from error and is hence transcribed from an Old Northumbrian original of the eighth century. The scribe was a German and used the Carolingian script; the primitive forms and archaic spelling appear to have made the poem unintelligible to him, so he copied it mechanically and did not separate the words correctly.

[1] Dietrich, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), 119–120.

Codex 878 is also of very great philological importance, because it contains Anglo-Saxon runes and the abbreviated Norse runic alphabet of sixteen letters. This Scandinavian alphabet was in use from about the year 800. The poem and runes were copied in the ninth century at St Gall by a German monk from an original written by a Northumbrian[1]. Here again the St Gall manuscript is not separated by a single intervening link from an Anglo-Saxon source, and we can safely conclude that the Abbot of St Gall borrowed books from some Anglo-Saxon centre, presumably Fulda, and had them transcribed. It is instructive to find that the alphabets are interpolated in Isidore's *Etymologies*, a work used considerably by the Anglo-Saxons, and probably the source of the *Vocabularius S. Galli*.

In three copies of Bede's works containing the treatise *De Natura Rerum et de Temporibus*, the Anglo-Saxon names of the months are to be found. Codex 248 is the oldest of these and dates from the ninth century, as also does No. 251, while No. 250 is of the eleventh. No. 251 was presumably copied from an original written by an Anglo-Saxon; the names of the months are relatively correct. In Nos. 248 and 250 there are orthographical errors which betray the German scribe: *red* for *hred*, *bluot* for *blōd*, *manoth* for *monath*, etc.

Codex 247, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ends with a list of this writer's works, after which another hand has added the lines: "Rutubi Portus a gente Anglorum n*unc* Reptacestir vocat*ur*. Angli civitat*em* cestir, urb*em* burg dicunt." The writer evidently knew Anglo-Saxon. These words are a gloss on the following sentence, which occurs in the description of the situation of Britain (chapter 1 of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*): "To the south, as you pass along the nearest shore of Belgic Gaul, the first place in Britain which opens to the eye, is the city of Rutubi Portus, by the English corrupted into Reptacestir" (the present Richborough, in Kent).

A valuable relic of the relations between St Gall and Fulda remains in the shape of Codex 913 which may be described as a

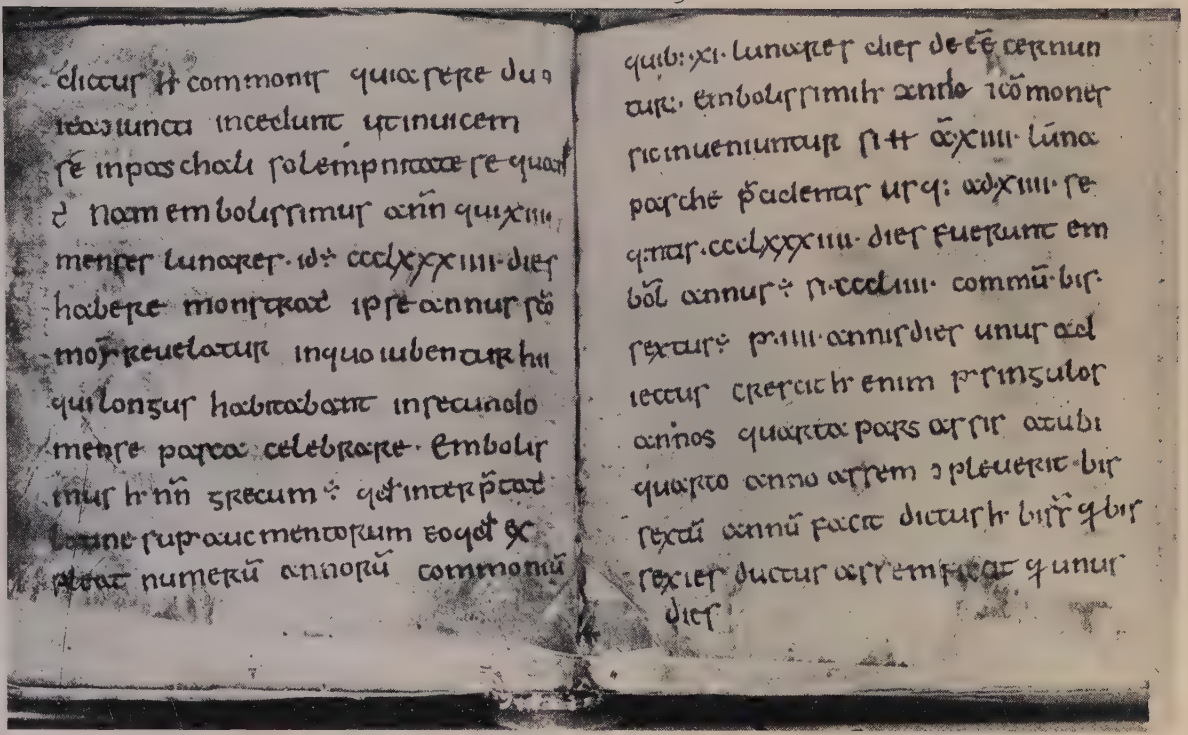
[1] The contention that the language used is Old Saxon is not supported by any evidence (Siebs and Unwert, pp. 28 sqq.).

little theological vade-mecum[1]. The whole codex was copied by one scribe from various sources. Some sections are of early date, e.g. that in which the Easter dispute is mentioned as still going on (page 118 of the manuscript): the Synod of Whitby was held in 664 and the controversy continued till about 718. The glosses on Aldhelm date from the beginning of the eighth century or later. The most important part, the *Vocabularius S. Galli*, was copied about 780 and the original was some twenty years older. According to the monastery tradition the manuscript belonged to St Gall himself, for whom it was written by Willimar, the priest of Arbon. This is not possible, because St Gall founded his cell in 613, fifty years before the Easter dispute and nearly a century before the death of Aldhelm. Scherrer maintains that it was used by the Irish monks in Swabia as a German dictionary because the Latin word is always given first and the German equivalent second[2]. Non sequitur. A glance at Steinmeyer's work will show that this order occurs frequently. Moreover the essentially Anglo-Saxon character of the manuscript makes it clear that it was not written for the use of Celts.

The oft-repeated statement that the *Vocabularius* is of Irish origin is entirely erroneous, but as uncritical writers perpetuate the fallacy, it might be advisable to give the various arguments which conclusively prove the *Vocabularius* to be Anglo-Saxon. In the first place all manuscripts known to have been written in Ireland at this time have certain orthographical peculiarities. These are absent in Codex 913. The numerous clerical errors are in the main such as occur regularly in Continental manuscripts. The confusion of *p* and *b*, *f* and *v*, *c* and *g*, *t* and *d* are typical of the Alemannic dialect and a consequence of the second sound-shifting. *E* and *i*, *s* and *ss* are correctly distinguished. The use of *c* for *k* before *i* and *e* is Anglo-Saxon.

Secondly the sources used are Anglo-Saxon. The second supplement consists of glosses to the Anglo-Saxon writer Aldhelm, who died in 709. The first supplement has been proved to be

[1] For contents *vide* Appendix B.
[2] *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek*, p. 332.



VOCABULARIUS SANCTI GALLI. PP. 120–1

based on an Anglo-Saxon original[1], and closely corresponds with the Anglo-Saxon alphabetical *Corpus Glossary*.

Bound together with the *Vocabularius*, and written in the same hand, is a little theological encyclopædia which, among a host of other things, contains an Anglo-Saxon gloss to the names of animals in Leviticus xi[2]. The Latin *locusta* is rendered by *greshoppae*; the Old High German equivalent was *hewiskrekeo*, New High German *Heuschreck*. After the word *porfirionem* (gier-eagle), the scribe adds that this bird is not found in Britain[3]; after *onocratulum* (pelican), "as it were, a duck, but not the same; we have not this either"; *charadrion* (heron), "nor have we this." Obviously the author of this gloss was an Anglo-Saxon; an Irishman would make comparisons with the fauna of Ireland, not with that of Britain, and he would have no particular motive for using Anglo-Saxon words.

Finally the *Vocabularius* proper has been shown to be closely related to the *Glossæ Casselanæ*, which came originally from Fulda, the headquarters of Anglo-Saxon scholarship on the Continent at the time when Codex 913 was written.

Where did the original of the *Vocabularius* come from? In the year 760, the approximate date of this lost manuscript, only one Anglo-Saxon school existed on the Continent, as far as we know, namely Fulda. There may have been a school at Reichenau, but even if this was the case, Reichenau could not have been the home of the manuscript, because the dialect of the Cassel Glosses is free from Alemannic features. On the other hand Franconian peculiarities have been found in the *Vocabularius*[4].

The subject-matter of the *Vocabularius* proper, as distinguished from the two supplements, is very interesting. There are no lists of specifically learned expressions, not even theological terms. The gloss is composed of groups of words drawn from various spheres of daily life: man in his relations with his fellows, his attributes, parts of the human body, the sky and the weather, time, the earth, the dwellings of men, the materials from which houses are built, trees, animals and birds.

[1] Braune, *Angelsächsisch und Althochdeutsch*, p. 378.
[2] Steinmeyer und Sievers, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, IV, 459.
[3] "Non fit in Britannia."
[4] Kögel, *Literaturgeschichte*, I², 438.

Henning[1] concludes that it was not meant for higher instruction, but simply to teach the names of things. This definitely settles the question as to whether the gloss was intended for the use of German monks learning Latin, or of British monks learning German by means of the common language, Latin. We must bear in mind that the Anglo-Saxons could make themselves understood without an interpreter, and their easiest method of learning the language would be by oral intercourse.

In conclusion it may be said that the St Gall manuscript was a Latin gloss for the use of German monks, written under Anglo-Saxon auspices, and copied for the benefit of the St Gall community. The original would be sent from Fulda and afterwards returned. The *Vocabularius* is one of the oldest text-books used in the St Gall school which have come down to us.

[1] *Quellen und Forschungen*, 3, p. 5.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLAN OF THE ABBEY

From the day when Abbot Othmar laid the foundation stone of his abbey till the completion of the present cathedral, is a period of over a thousand years, which cover the entire evolution of architectural styles from the earliest Romanesque to late Rococo. St Gall has suffered unduly from the ravages of time, and there is nothing above ground to-day that is older than the eighteenth century[1]. But the Abbey Library possesses in the ninth century ground-plan the most important of all relics of Carolingian times from the archæological point of view.

The little Irish hermitage with its wooden oratory and rude huts was succeeded by a stately abbey. Never before had a stone building been seen in the valley of the Steinach. Two hundred years were to elapse before the art of working stone was revived in the old Roman city of Mogontiacum (Mainz); and in Passau it was unknown till the twelfth century. As in so many other spheres, the Benedictines were pioneers in architecture. They brought with them the remnants of classic culture, a tiny stream which was all that remained of the mighty flood of Roman civilization. They irrigated the wilderness till it blossomed into a fair garden of flowers.

Othmar (720–760) built an abbot's residence (palatium), conventual buildings, artisans' workshops, and a hospital with a lazar-house. Outside the enclosure there was an outer school for young noblemen. The church was a basilica with a flat roof. The nave was over forty feet high[2], hence it must have been about sixty feet wide, and at least a hundred feet long. It had windows in every wall, and was adorned with lamps of glass. Under the choir there was a crypt; in the floor there was an opening (fenestra) through which the lamp over the high altar shed its light on the altar in the crypt[3]. In the apse behind the altar was

[1] Four pillars in the western crypt are all that now remain of the mediæval church; *vide* A. Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, p. v and n. 2.

[2] Otte, *Geschichte der romanischen Baukunst in Deutschland*, p. 52.

[3] Cf. F. Ostendorf, *Die deutsche Baukunst im Mittelalter*, p. 69; Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, cap. 65.

the stone coffin of St Gall. The basilica was built entirely of stone, the outside walls were of rubble. The masonry was so firm that in 820 battering-rams had to be called into requisition to break it down. Probably some of the outbuildings were of wood. Besides the church, which was dedicated to St Paul, there was also within the enclosure a chapel dedicated to St Peter on the site of the Irish oratory.

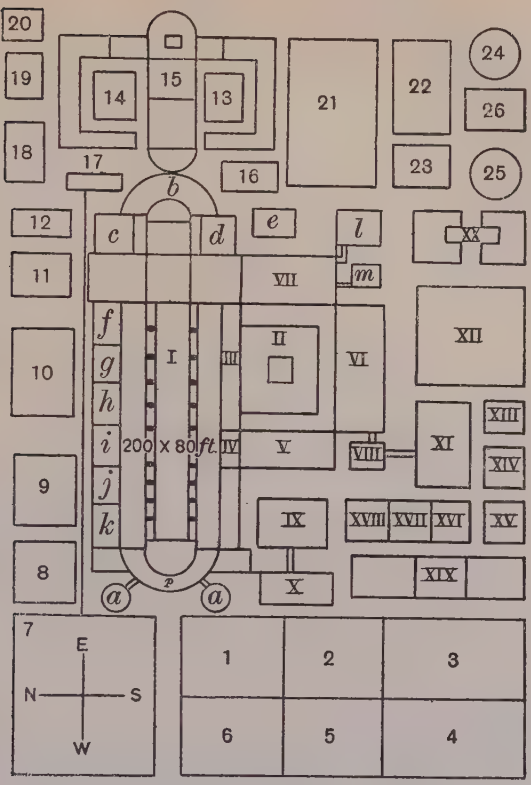
Othmar's monastery was a very respectable achievement for the time, but a century later it suffered by comparison with other conventual edifices in the Frankish empire. The new buildings commenced by Abbot Gozbert were conceived on a much larger scale, as befitted the dignity of a royal abbey. By a fortunate chance the ground-plan has come down to us and can be studied in detail[1].

This unique document consists of four pieces of parchment sewn together, measuring 110 by 78 centimetres. The outlines of the buildings are denoted by red lines and the destination of the various parts is explained by Latin hexameters written in black ink. Measurements are given for the church only, but as everything is drawn to scale, it is easy to calculate all the remaining dimensions. Sometimes the elevation is worked into the ground-plan, e.g. in the case of arches.

The architect was evidently a friend of Gozbert's, but of higher rank, because he addresses the Abbot as "filius" in the dedicatory lines written on the parchment itself. He did not know the exact configuration of the site, because the plan could not be executed without various changes; but he had such knowledge of the local conditions as a stranger might obtain without difficulty. He knew, for instance, that there were two churches dedicated to St Peter and to St Paul respectively, and he knew which of these was the *ecclesia major*, because he placed an altar consecrated to one of these saints in each apse, and to the eastern choir, which was the more important of the two, he allotted St Paul's altar.

The two choirs united to form one church with a common nave. It is almost certain that this structural peculiarity was

[1] For a bibliography of the various editions *vide* Otte, *op. cit.*, p. 143, and A. Hardegger, pp. 78 sqq.; the best is that of Ferdinand Keller (Zürich, 1844).



c. 430 × 300 ft.

EXPLANATIONS

I Abbey Church
a Campanili
b Vestibule
c Library
d Sacristy
e Building for preparation of host
f Refectory
g Guest chamber
h Magister's study
i Magister's bedroom
k } Porter's rooms
l Necessarium
m Bath-room and washhouse
p Porch for pilgrims and servants
II Cloister Court
III Chapter-house
IV Ante-room
V Cellar and pantry
VI Refectory
VII Living-room and dormitory
VIII Kitchen
IX Inn for pilgrims
X, XI } Bakery and brewery
XII Artisan's workshop
XIII, XIV } Crushing and hand mills
XV Malt-house
XVI Threshing-floor
XVII Wood-turners' shop
XVIII Coopers' shop
XIX Stable
XX Barn
1 Sheep stalls
2 Goats' stalls
3 Cowshed
4 Breeding stud
5 Pigsties
6 Servants' house
7 ?
8 Kitchen for noble guests
9 Inn for noble guests
10 Outer school
11 Abbot's Hall
12 Servants' house
13 Inner school
14 Hospital
15 Church
16 Students' kitchen
17 Hospital kitchen
18 Building for blood-letting
19 Doctor's house
20 Herb-garden
21 Churchyard and orchard
22 Kitchen garden
23 Gardener's house
24 Goose-pen
25 Hen-pen
26 Poultry-keeper's house

copied from Fulda, where St Saviour's church had been completed just a year before the St Gall plan was made, and this was, as far as we know, the only church with a double apse that then existed in Germany[1]. Considering the close connection between St Gall and Fulda in the ninth century, it is possible that the plan came from the latter place. The theory of Italian origin is not particularly convincing[2].

A third hypothesis is that of Dehio[3], who points out that Centula in Picardy (793–8) was built by Charlemagne's son-in-law Angilbert, who was one of the most eminent scholars at the imperial court, while Corvey (founded in 822) was the work of another member of the same circle. These two buildings, like the church in the St Gall plan, were also cruciform. Hence Dehio argues that the plan came from Charlemagne's court. Dopsch's contention that its home was Aniane in France is a pure guess[4].

If the identity of the architect is a matter for conjecture, the character of his work can be clearly recognized. The whole scheme is utilitarian rather than æsthetic. There is no striving after external effect. The buildings face inwards, not outwards. The rooms are arranged with greater regard for comfort, cleanliness, and health, than the contemporary dwellings of the laity, but they do not form an organic whole.

Abbot Gozbert did not live to see the task accomplished. He had to content himself with pulling down the old church, and erecting the new one. We are told that it was completed in seven years and consecrated two years later, in 839, but this only applies to the choir. Perhaps the nave was begun. Winihart, a St Gall monk, is said to have been in charge of the operations; he was assisted by two other brethren, Isenrich and Ratger. All the monks helped; some carried stones, sand, or lime; others built the walls or shaped the beams.

[1] Whether or not the double apse at Fulda is an imitation of English models is uncertain. For examples in England, *vide* Otte, *loc. cit.*, p. 143; Parker, *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, p. 8; A. H. Thompson, *Ground Plan of English Parish Church*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 52.

[2] F. Keller, *Bauriss des Klosters St Gallen*, p. 11.

[3] *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, 67 sqq.

[4] *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XIII, pp. 40–47, 609–611.

In Grimald's abbacy Hartmuot the Dean, who had been trained at Fulda, built the new quarters for the monks, the artisans' workshops, and the abbot's hall. The king's own architects[1] supervised the construction of the last-mentioned building, Grimald being the chaplain of Louis the German. In 867 the basilica, with an eastern choir, but a vestibule at the west end, not an apse, was consecrated by the Bishop of Constance. We learn very little about technical details, but it is certain that the pillars of the church were hewn out of gigantic blocks of stone. The Romanesque nave was still standing in 1756, although it was in a very dilapidated condition, and hence we are able from the various existing oil-paintings, plans, sections, and descriptions made in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to reconstruct this part of the church in a general way.

It will thus be seen that the abbots of St Gall continued to carry out the architect's plan piecemeal. We must now examine this document, and then see to what extent it was translated into actuality. The various buildings were divided into three groups, each of which was enclosed by walls or fences. The largest consisted of the basilica and the edifices to the north and south of it. To the west of this part was the agricultural section, while to the east lay the inner school, the hospital, and so forth.

The abbey was not a large edifice with many apartments, but a series of different buildings, between which were lanes or open spaces. There were no less than forty roof-trees in all. The appearance of the whole resembled that of a small town, an impression confirmed by the variety of occupations carried on within its walls, and the number of its inmates.

The largest and most important edifice is the church (1), dedicated to St Gall. It is a cruciform Romanesque basilica[2] with apses at its eastern and western extremities, double choirs, and transepts. With the exception of Fulda, this is the oldest cruciform plan in Germany[3]. Another very important feature common to both abbeys is the separation of the presbytery and the tran-

[1] Palatini magistri.

[2] A. Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, p. 47; F. Ostendorf, *Die deutsche Baukunst im Mittelalter*, 1, 43.

[3] That Centula had a cruciform church is a pure hypothesis, Dehio, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.

septs by a choir forming a perfect square and equal in area to the transepts[1]. This was done in order to make the presbytery, which was raised on account of the crypt below, as conspicuous as possible when seen from the nave, to allow room for the officiating clergy, and finally to separate them from the laity by a clearly defined space. Another factor that had to be taken into consideration was the large number of altars. Each transept, the choir (corresponding to the crossing of a Gothic cathedral) and the presbytery are equal in area, and the nave, with its nine bays of round arches, was four and a half times as long as the unit of measurement. Thus we have a basilica the proportions of which are regulated with mathematical precision.

The presbytery was reached from the choir by two parallel flights of seven steps. A passage between the two flights led to the door of the crypt, which was also accessible from both sides of the presbytery. A crypt was an indispensable feature in large Romanesque churches. The Cluniacs and Cistercians discouraged the custom, and Gothic architects did not require to build them, because the relics of saints were then placed in shrines above ground. Of the various known varieties of crypts, that of the St Gall plan, with its straight passages, does not belong to the primitive type, which consisted of a curved tunnel leading to the shrine of the martyr or confessor. On the other hand this is not the fully developed kind which appears from the middle of the tenth century, in which there is a low vaulted roof supported by rows of pillars.

In the eastern apse, which was a kind of rudimentary lady chapel, there was St Paul's altar, in the presbytery those of St Gall and the Holy Virgin, in the choir were those of St Benedict and St Columban; in the transepts two others dedicated to Sts Philip and James and St Andrew respectively; in the centre of the nave that of Christ on the Cross; at the west end those of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist; in the apse that of St Peter. There were in addition six side-chapels in the nave aisles, each with its holy table, making a total of seventeen in

[1] Ostendorf enquires whether a central tower was intended or not, *loc. cit.*, p. 44. A. Hardegger has shown conclusively that this was not the case; *vide Die alte Stiftskirche*, plates opposite pp. 40–1.

all. The number seems large, especially in view of the capitularies in which Charlemagne fulminated against the multiplication of altars. However, Magdeburg Cathedral had as many as forty-eight[1].

The nave had a pulpit, a font, and two lecterns. Laymen only had access to one-fifth of the total area of the basilica, viz. the body of the nave with the altar of Christ and the Holy Cross. All the rest was reserved for the monks. A large Benedictine community used the church day and night for the canonical office, masses in the side-chapels, and so on.

Two round bell-towers (*a*, *a*) stood at the west end. Here again the St Gall plan is in agreement with Fulda. It was not till much later that the two towers came to be part of the west end, and a façade was formed. The two campanili are outside the church, but they are joined to it by a wall, and this is the first step towards the final fusion.

The apses each had a kind of vestibule (*b*, *b*); the western one was an open hall, perhaps the eastern was like a closed court-yard. The library (*c*) and sacristy (*d*) adjoined the eastern choir. The sacristy was a heated apartment with a credence-table (mensa sacrorum vasorum), above which was the room in which the vestments were kept (vestium ecclesiæ repositio). To the south was a separate building (*e*), which was perhaps united to the church by a covered passage. Here the host was prepared and the oil pressed from olives, to be consecrated as chrism. These operations were generally performed in the sacristy[2]. A number of rooms were adjacent to the northern wall of the church, viz. the refectory and guest-chamber for monks from other monasteries (*f*, *g*), the study and bedroom of the school-master (*h*, *i*), and the apartments of the portarius, or gatekeeper (*j*, *k*) who held a very responsible position, because it fell to his lot to receive the guests.

To the north, and separated from the conventual buildings proper by the church, was the aristocratic quarter, the meeting-place of sacred and secular. There was a good reason for its position away from the cloisters: the arrival of visitors was not to disturb the daily routine of the monastery. The reception of

[1] For other examples *vide* Bergner, p. 261. [2] Bergner, 166.

strangers was one of the duties enjoined by the Rule[1], and in the Capitulary of 817 it was decreed that learned brethren should be deputed to converse with monks coming from other monasteries. The founder of the order expressly ordered that the best reception should be accorded to pilgrims and to the poor "inasmuch as in them Christ is particularly received," but with shrewd insight into human nature he added, "for the fear of the rich in itself compels honour."

Guests of distinction were welcomed in a manner appropriate to their rank. In a special kitchen (8), also prescribed in the Rule, the choicest viands were prepared. The adjoining rooms are the pantry, bakery, and brewery. The next building (9) is the guest-house; there is an entrance hall, living and bedrooms for visitors, accommodation for their servants, and a stable for their horses. In the centre is a large banqueting-hall which, like the living-rooms, can be heated. It is provided with tables, benches, and two "toregmata" (apparently sideboards).

The outer school (10), in which laymen of high rank and future secular priests were educated, is surrounded by a fence. Like the cruciform threshing-floors, and so many other architectural details of the monastery, this fence has both a practical and an allegorical significance. It serves to keep the scholars in bounds, and prevents them from making inroads on the pantry or kitchen. At the same time it fulfils a purpose indicated by the inscription: "And this fence hedges in the desires of studious youth[2]." The school is a large rectangular building with a quadrangle; the latter is divided into two equal parts by a wall. In the centre of each half of the quadrangle there is a square schoolroom. In the four wings of the large schoolhouse there are twelve rooms with tables, some are the pupils' rooms, others are classrooms. The head of the school (caput scholæ) lived opposite, in a building adjacent to the church, and consisting of a commodious bedroom (*h*) and a study (*i*)[3].

Beside the school is the abbot's hall (aula or palatium). It

[1] *S. Benedicti Regula*, ed. C. Butler, pp. 90 sqq., *De Hospitibus Suscipiendis*.

[2] Hæc quoque septa premunt discentis vota juventutis.

[3] At St Gall the teachers slept with the other monks, in the common dormitory according to Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 40.

comprises two buildings: the abbot lived in one (11) and his retinue in the other (12). The former is in the shape of a basilica without an apse or aisles, so that the arches are exposed at the sides, and enclose two open vestibules. On the ground floor there are two apartments known as the *mansio abbatis*, which have carved furniture; these are connected with the church by a special covered passage. In the upper storey there are a hall and several small rooms. The servants' quarters contain a kitchen, a pantry, and a bathroom, besides bedrooms.

To the south of the basilica are the domestic buildings, which bound the cloister-court (II) on the other three sides. Only monks were allowed to enter this part of the precincts, but the rule was often relaxed. Abbot Grimald happened to be a secular priest, but he could not be excluded from the cloisters of his own abbey on that account. As a compromise, men who had taken no conventual vows were permitted to enter the cloisters if they temporarily donned monastic garb. Subject to this condition, kings and nobles crossed the threshold. In his youth the powerful Salomo even ignored this regulation, and penetrated to the cloisters in layman's garb at all hours of the day and night[1].

The quadrangle is enclosed by an arcade of round arches, behind which is a covered walk. Entrance to the cloister-court is gained by means of four doors, and from each of these a path leads to a small lawn with a tree in the centre. The wing of the cloisters adjoining the church must have been much wider than the other three. It served as a chapter-house (III) and communicated with the ante-room (IV), in which visitors were received, and the servants were given their orders. At the other end of the chapter-house a door leads to a side-chapel of the church and thence to the monks' quarters.

This edifice (VII) has two storeys. The lower one is the living-room of the community, and is heated by a large fireplace with a round arch. The rigours of the St Gall climate make heated rooms a necessity rather than a luxury; the Abbey is 2200 feet above sea-level. In the plan the chimney of the *calefactorium* (like the colonnades of the cloisters) is drawn in horizontal instead of vertical projection. A passage connects this room with

[1] *Vide Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 3, p. 14.

a small building (*m*) containing the wash-house with its large fireplace, and the bathroom, which is provided with a stove and two tubs. Very likely it was here that the feet of the monks were washed according to the prescriptions of the Benedictine Rule. Each had to undertake this office in turn. On Maundy Thursday it was the Abbot's duty to wash the brethren's feet[1]. Close by is the *necessarium* (*l*). The upper storey above the living-room is the dormitory; beds and benches are marked in the plan.

The building (VI) on the south side of the cloister-court also contains two storeys: the refectory, and above it the *vestiarium* or wardrobe. In the frater there are six long tables surrounded by benches, of which those on the outer side are placed against the walls[2]. At the largest table (mensa abbatis) the Abbot sits, while a small one in the centre of the room is reserved for honoured guests. A benefactor of the Abbey of St Gall stipulated that his son should have all the days of his life "the right to enter the refectory, to eat with the monks, and to enjoy their privacy." In Ekkehard's *Casus* we are told that Salomo III, Bishop of Constance, made a grant of land to the monastery "in order that he might have during his lifetime the daily ration of a monk and the seat of a guest in the refectory." The passage is of doubtful accuracy, but the custom to which it refers must have existed[3].

Close to the wall there is an *analogium* or reading-desk from which, in accordance with the dictates of the Rule, a monk read aloud during meals. The performance of this duty was limited to those who had a good voice and fluent delivery. Various books in the Abbey Library are still marked "for reading" (ad legendum) and a short recension of Adamnan's *Vita Columbæ* was specially prepared for this purpose[4].

Beside the door in the west wall of the frater is a large cupboard, in which the plates were probably kept. Through this door access is obtained to the kitchen (VIII), in which the monks had to work in turn, the cellarer alone being exempted. This

[1] *Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges*, I, 202.
[2] Probably the older brethren sat here.
[3] *Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 32; Keller, *Bauriss*, p. 22.
[4] Adamnan, ed. Reeves, p. xxiii.

duty was particularly distasteful to men accustomed to an open-air life, and its strict observance had to be enforced by the Capitulary of 817. The kitchen contains tables, benches, and a huge fireplace. By means of a passage this building is joined to the abbey bakery and brewery (XI); the servants employed here slept under the same roof.

The remaining side of the cloister-court is formed by a third erection (V) of the same height as the others. On the upper floor is the pantry, and below the cellar, well stocked with barrels of beer and casks of wine. There are two separate buildings south of the western choir used for the accommodation of pilgrims and poor travellers: one was the inn (IX) and the other (X) the bakery and brewery.

The inn is built round a quadrangle, in the centre of which is a small lodge. Round the walls there are seats on which the wayfarers rest, eat their meals, and receive alms. There are eight apartments, two of which are for the use of servants, and two ante-rooms. The pilgrims are not allowed the same comforts as the inmates of the monastery: their rooms are not heated, nor do they dine in a common hall. As no beds are mentioned in the plan, we suspect that the travellers had to sleep on straw. Opposite the inn is a porch (*p*), through which the pilgrims and the abbey menials enter the church.

According to the precepts of the Benedictine Rule, the mills, bakeries, and workshops necessary for the requirements of the community, had to be within the walls of the abbey, lest the monks should need to leave its precincts[1].

Hence to the south of the monastic buildings proper there are the various workshops of the craftsmen. The largest building (XII) consists of two unequal parts, the principal one having two square courtyards, while the other, which is smaller, is separated from it by an open space. The larger portion contains the workshops of the cobblers, saddlers, knife-grinders, armourers, shield-makers, also the woodcarvers' and sculptors' studios. The remaining wing is for the tanners, fullers, and metal-workers (including gold- and silversmiths). Here were manufactured altar ornaments of gold and silver leaf, reliquaries, costly book-

[1] *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, ed. C. Butler, p. 117.

bindings set with precious stones. The artisans all lived under the same roof as their workshops; there were special lodges for their overseers.

Beside the monks' bakery and brewery (XI) are two buildings (XIII, XIV), containing the crushing and hand mills. As usual labourers' bedrooms are also included. It was the boast of the monks of St Gall that their mill required ten new millstones every year. Next to these buildings is the drying-kiln (XV), probably used for making malt, beside which is a long shed, divided into three parts. The first (XVI) is a threshing-floor and granary, the middle one (XVII) the wood-turners' shop, in which the wooden plates, dishes, drinking-cups, taps for barrels, round pegs, funnels, and other utensils were manufactured. The rest of the shed formed the coopers' workshop.

Opposite this building are the stables (XIX). On one side of the courtyard which stands in the middle is the mares' stable, and above it the hayloft. On the other side is a shed for the oxen, with mangers at both sides; the herdsmen live under the same roof as the cattle. Beyond the workshops is a huge barn (XX), with an open space in the centre in the form of a cross; this served as a threshing-floor. Here the corn needed for the production of flour was threshed, whereas the other threshing-floor (XVI) was exclusively used for the requirements of the brewery.

The second group of buildings are to the west of the church and the offices. There are seven different erections, situated on both sides of the wide public road that outsiders used in order to enter the church. They are all of considerable size. Six of them lie to the south of the road. It is here that the greater part of the livestock belonging to the abbey was intended to be housed. The six buildings are separated from each other by a wall or fence: it is not clear from the plan which is meant. They are all built on the same lines. In the centre there is a courtyard with a small house for the superintendent of the labourers and herdsmen, whose rooms are also marked.

Starting from the apse of the church, the first (1) contains stalls for sheep, the next (2) for goats. The third (3) is a series of cowsheds. Then comes a stable (4), and breeding-studs for

mares and foals, the pigsties (5), and finally a house for servants (6), apparently to be occupied by the families of the labourers and workmen living in the abbey precincts. As the parchment was not quite large enough in the corner, and was also too rough, the architect was not able to make the cowsheds and stable (3, 4) in line with the other buildings, but had to shorten them a little.

It is not known for what purpose the large house (7) on the other side of the road was intended, as this part of the plan is damaged. An unknown monk, who was ignorant of the value of this wonderful document, wrote the life of St Martin on the back, and continued to write on the front, after carefully erasing the red lines and written instructions of the architect. The outlines of the building are still visible, but the Latin words in black ink are, with the exception of "cubilia," quite illegible. This word indicates that there were bedrooms in the erection. The first editor of the plan was unable to find any clue to its destination in the plans of old Italian monasteries. Bergner calls it "Fahrnisschuppen," i.e. sheds for carts and implements.

The third group of buildings lie to the east. The most important of them are the inner school (13) and the hospital (14), which, with their own church (15), are arranged in a perfectly symmetrical design. These were the "silent rooms." In the inner school the novices and oblates were trained. It had three wings, the quadrangle being enclosed on the fourth side by the small church. A covered walk, or ambulatory, with round arches, ran round the three walls, so that the pupils could take exercise in wet weather. Inside the building there is a refectory, the master's room, the sickroom, the dormitory, and the classroom. Close by are the students' kitchen and bathroom (16).

Like the inner school, the hospital (14) is arranged on the old Roman plan, like an Oxford college. Most of the other buildings have a large covered inner hall in which doors communicate with the rooms. The care of the sick was specially enjoined on the monks of his Order by St Benedict[1]. There are two wards in the hospital: one for light illnesses, and the other for serious cases. In addition we find the room of the *magister* or superintendent, and a living-room for convalescents.

[1] *Regula*, cap. xxxvi, *De Infirmis Fratribus*.

Quite near is the hospital kitchen (17). Patients were allowed poultry and other dainty fare, so that when conventual discipline was not rigidly enforced, some weaker brethren developed the habit of taking their meals in the hospital, which practice Louis the Pious found it necessary to prohibit[1]. Under the same roof as the kitchen are the baths. In a larger building (18) the phlebotomist treated his patients. In the Middle Ages blood-letting was one of the commonest of remedies for all kinds of complaints. There was no specified time for the operation, this being left to the option of the individual, but it seems to have been by no means unpopular, which may have been due to the fact that it was followed by increased rations of food and drink. The inscription in the plan informs us that purgatives were also administered here.

The church (15) is divided by a wall into two chapels on the same model, for the inner school and the hospital respectively. That used by the sick has its altar in the western apse: a peculiarity we have already noticed in the basilica. An outside chapel dedicated to St Mary is a common feature in the precincts of cathedrals and monastic churches; it often served as the parish church of the town or of the lay-brothers attached to the community. In Benedictine abbeys, St Mary's chapel was set apart for the sick, as on the St Gall plan, and also for the busy abbey officials, the cellarer, camerarius, ostiarius, infirmarius, magister operis, etc. The service was therefore much shorter than in the larger church[2].

The physician's house (19) is separated from the rest of the monastery by a wall or fence. It had not even direct communication with the hospital, which was under the special supervision of the physician. This points to the fact that the house was used as an isolation hospital for contagious diseases. This view is confirmed by the position of the building, very far from the offices and in the extreme north-west corner of the grounds. Moreover it contains a room for patients who are seriously ill (cubiculum valde infirmorum), from which access can only be obtained to the courtyard, and not to either of the other two

[1] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges*, I, 202.
[2] Bergner, *Kirchliche Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, p. 167.

wings of the house, which are occupied by the dispensary and the physician's private apartments.

Behind this house is the *herbularius* (20) or garden for medicinal herbs. The beds, sixteen in number, are each planted with one kind of herb. The selection throws some light on the state of medical science in the ninth century. Some of them are denoted by words of dubious Latinity, and have not been identified with certainty, but the following are undoubtedly to be found in the list: sage (salvia officinalis), rue (ruta graveolens), lovage (levisticum officinale), fennel (feniculum off.), peppermint (mentha piperita), rosemary (rosemarinus off.), costmary (tanacetum balsamita), the common climbing bean (phaseolus vulgaris), and the white lily (lilium candidum).

The cemetery (21) is a large enclosure, in the centre of which there is a lofty cross. As the graves are not marked by tombstones, or even crosses, and trees are planted in rows among them, it would look more like an orchard than a churchyard. The ground-plan states the names of the trees. They include: apple, pear, plum, fig, peach, almond, hazel, chestnut, mulberry, laurel, pine, ash, etc.

Beside the cemetery is the kitchen-garden (22). The monks had to live very largely on vegetarian fare, and had to produce all their own food themselves, hence the importance of the kitchen-garden. It is divided into eighteen beds, planted with onions, coriander, leek, lettuce, parsley, cabbage, celery, dill, poppies, radishes, carrots, beetroot, garlic, shallot, peppermint, parsnip, corn-cockle, and pumpkin. Close by is a house for the gardener and his labourers (23), with storerooms for tools and seeds. The poultry pens (24, 25) are circular in shape and of considerable size; one is for hens and the other for geese. Between them is the poultry-keeper's house.

Unfortunately we do not know exactly to what extent the plan was actually carried out at St Gall. Alterations were made necessary by the nature of the site, which was wedged in between the Steinach, the Ira brook, and the settlement that later became the town. Moreover the course of the two streams which formed part of the natural defences of the monastery, did not admit of a rectangular complex of buildings[1]. A modification of

[1] Ferdinand Keller, *Bauriss des Klosters St Gallen*, p. 11.

the plan in the south-east corner was unavoidable, but whether this merely involved the erection of the portions affected in another place, or a curtailment of the whole plan, is uncertain.

Building operations proceeded very slowly, but for a considerable period the plan must have been kept as an ultimate goal towards which a gradual approach was made. The main principles, the threefold division of the site, the relative position of the basilica and the cloisters, were certainly retained, and by the end of the ninth century, St Gall approximated fairly closely to the ideal type of a Benedictine Abbey, as conceived by the unknown architect.

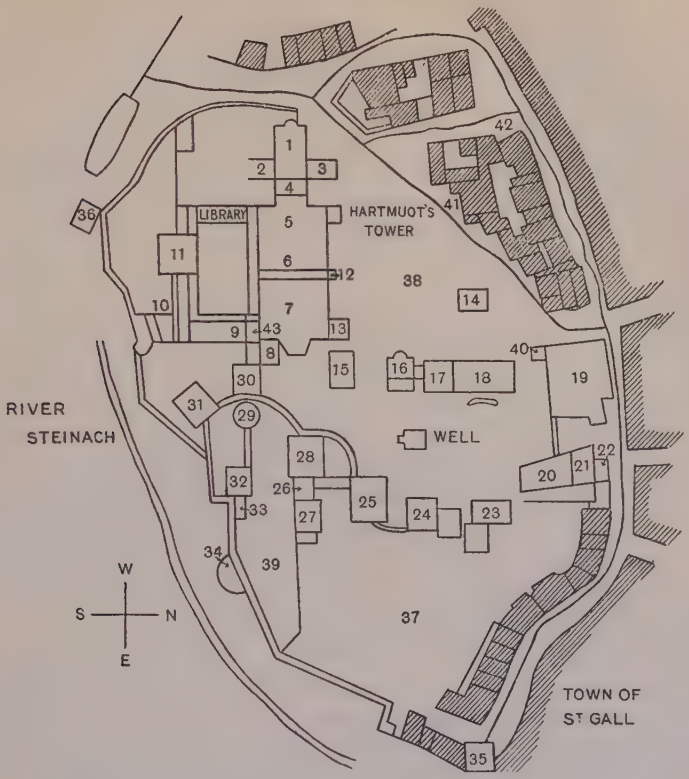
Besides the transplantation of the buildings in the north-east corner, other deviations from the plan took place. The abbot's hall was shifted to the east, because its intended position north of the basilica would have been cold and sunless[1]. St Mary's church was built north-east of the minster, instead of due east, to avoid overcrowding. It has frequently been said that both the western towers and the transepts of the basilica were sacrificed[2]. We are told that the abbey church assumed the usual shape of a South German basilica. Since the appearance of Herr A. Hardegger's excellent work it can hardly be doubted that one at least of the towers, that on the north side, was actually built by Abbot Hartmann, and was identical with the "Schulthurm" described by Vadianus.

Herr Hardegger is of the opinion that in the construction of the basilica, the plan was much more closely adhered to than has hitherto been supposed. He made the interesting discovery that the measurements written on the ground-plan do not correspond at all to the actual proportions of the church, which is drawn to scale. He infers from this that the numbers were added later, when the Abbot of St Gall had decided how large his minster was to be. These measurements correspond exactly with the known dimensions of the actual building, reconstructed by means of Gabriel Hecht's plan and other trustworthy sources[3].

[1] Hardegger, p. 67.

[2] Cf. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, 67; T. Schiess, *Geschichte der Stadt St Gallen*, p. 11.

[3] Hardegger, p. 47. See also *Baudenkmäler der Stadt St Gallen*, pp. 21–2.



THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS, A.D. 1526

EXPLANATIONS

1 St Othmar's Church
2 St Sebastian's Chapel
3 St Oswald's Chapel
4 Helmhaus and St Michael's
5 "Laienkirche"
6 Screen
7 St Gall's Church
8 Sacristy
9 Refectory
10 Deanery
11 Infirmary
12 Geisberg Chapel
13 Tower
14 Chapel (?)
15 Chapel of Holy Sepulchre and St Ulrich's
16 St Mary's Chapel
17 "Bindhaus"
18 Stables
19 St Lawrence's Church
20 "Gewölb"
21 Vicarage
22 Vicarage
23 Inn for female guests
24 Wine cellars
25 Abbot's Hall
26 St Catherine's Chapel
27 Mortuary
28 St Peter's Chapel
29 St Gall's Chapel
30 Gatehouse and St Elizabeth's Chapel
31 Guest-house
32 Post
33 Hospital
34 Arsenal
35, 36 Gateways
37 Orchard
38 Cemetery
39 Old graveyard
40 Mount of Olives
41 St John's Chapel
42 Baths
43 Chapter-house

According to Herr Hardegger the transepts were actually constructed in accordance with the plan. The two apses were retained, but instead of one basilica there were really two different churches; one, St Gall's, with an eastern, the other, St Othmar's, with a western orientation. The former had at its western extremity an open vestibule. The two churches were later connected by a central building called the "Helmhaus," in which noblemen were buried. The upper storey was a chapel dedicated to St Michael. In 1623 the Helmhaus was pulled down and the nave lengthened by three bays. In Melchior Frank's drawing of the town (A.D. 1596), as also in an oil-painting in the Library (dated 1740), the three divisions of the church: choir, nave, and St Othmar's, can be clearly distinguished. These pictures also show the square tower built at the north-east corner of the church in the thirteenth century.

Among other additions were the various chapels adjacent to, or near, the church. The chapels of Holy Sepulchre and of St John the Baptist were built in the second half of the tenth century; many others were added later[1]. Some of the less important buildings in the plan were probably sacrificed. We may doubt whether it was found necessary to build three bakeries, one for the monks, one for noble guests, and a third for pilgrims. The architectural growth of the church can be re-traced with comparative ease, because its stone walls defied the destructive hand of time and the ravages of fire, whereas some at least of the outbuildings were made of wood and frequently demolished. Their position is hence difficult to determine.

Both the herb-garden and the orchard were laid out at St Gall, and under Abbot Notker (971–975), the monastery is even said to have possessed a small zoological garden[2]. At a time when the art of healing was almost monopolized by Jews and Arabs, the study of medicine was promoted at St Gall by Abbot Grimald (841–872). It was to this prelate that Walafrid Strabo dedicated

[1] *Vide* Hardegger, pp. 62 sqq. Cf. also Meyer von Knonau in *Vita S. Otmari*, p. 128, n. 74.

[2] *Der Bodensee*, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 32. The abbot's garden at St Gall was in the eastern extremity of the abbey grounds in the seventeenth century, *vide* Hardegger, p. 76, and Merian's plan, *ibid.*, opposite p. 1.

his poem *De Cultura Hortorum*, in which there is a pretty allusion to the orchard at St Gall:

> When behind the fence in the little garden you sit still in the shadow of your trees, when the sun breaks through the foliage of the peach-trees, and its light plays on the ground, while the merry band of your pupils gather the fruit with the skin soft as down, and eagerly gather in the wide nets—scarce can the little hands grasp the fruit—then read this book, beloved father.

It will be seen in the plan that the orchard adjoins the abbot's hall.

That the outer school was situated to the north of the abbey church may be regarded as certain. In his description of the fire of 937, Ekkehard relates that the dry shingles of the school burnt and were blown away by the wind to the tower of Hartmuot. Vadianus explains that this tower was beside the church[1]. Melchior Frank's plan of the town and Merian's view (A.D. 1642) both show the tower on the north side of the church. The north wind is expressly stated to have carried the flames. Meyer von Knonau also cites c. 26 of the *Casus*, according to which Salomo, when departing for Constance, i.e. in a northerly direction, first left the cloisters (fratribus valedictis), and when passing the school, opened the door, and entered[2]. From Ekkehard's account of the fire we also learn that the roof-tiles (tegulæ) were made of wood: it was oak that was used for this purpose.

It has been suggested that the plan was utilized elsewhere than at St Gall; it seems to have become a general model because its main features can be recognized at Cluny, in the monasteries of the Hirsau congregation, and in Cistercian abbeys[3]. It was not so much the St Gall adaptation as the ground-plan itself which lived on. The chief characteristic of the type is the division into three parts, of which the first, the cloisters and offices, was adjacent to the nave of the church, and usually to the south of it; east of the church and cloisters were the hospital, school,

[1] He refers to it as the "Schulthurm," because for a time it was used as a school.

[2] *Mit. d. vat. Ges.* XV–XVI, 240 sqq.

[3] A careful discussion of the relation between the St Gall plan and other contemporary types is given in F. Ostendorf, *Die deutsche Baukunst im Mittelalter*, I, 42–6, 57, 99, 111, 112, 117, 185 and 190.

and annexes; while to the west lay the agricultural section, in which the various handicrafts were carried on, and guests were accommodated. The monks slept in a common dormitory; later separate cells once more came into use.

The western apse was discarded. It prevented a gradual ascent from the main door of the church to the shrine; for ritualistic reasons it was very inconvenient, and it made the erection of a façade impossible. Another feature of the St Gall plan was not universally adopted: the mathematical proportions of the apse, choir, transepts, and nave. As a rule the cloisters remained on the south side of the nave, but they became larger, and in later monasteries they occupied the whole length of the nave. There were minor changes, e.g. in the position of the chapter-house, but it is scarcely too much to say that the St Gall plan fixed once and for all the type of a large Benedictine Abbey.

Little remains to be said of the subsequent architectural development of St Gall, because the story has already been told, and told extremely well[1]. The Abbey had been partially rebuilt after the fires of 1314 and 1418[2]. In the eighteenth century the minster was in bad repair, and it consisted of three parts, one in the Romanesque style, another in the Gothic, and a third in that of the Renaissance. The church was pulled down by Abbot Coelestin Gugger (1740–1767), and was replaced by a uniform structure in the Rococo style.

[1] Adolf Fäh and Kreuzmann, *Die Kathedrale in St Gallen und die Stiftsbibliothek*, Zürich, 1899–1900.

[2] *Vide* Hardegger, p. 10.

CHAPTER V

THE SCHOOL OF ST GALL

The St Gall school was founded in Othmar's abbacy (720–759). Although we hear very little about it before the ninth century, good progress must have been made in the interval, because, among the scribes who wrote charters between 720 and 800, there are no less than twenty different names[1]. Before the end of the ninth century the school was famous far and wide.

In the palmy days of Grimald and Hartmuot, the whole range of education from primary to university standard was cultivated at St Gall. Books were written, copied, and illuminated in the scriptorium. Musical works were composed, and the theory of music was taught. The monks observed the sun and stars to calculate the dates of church festivals. All the sciences known in that day were diligently studied, nor were the more practical arts and handicrafts neglected: painting, architecture, sculpture in wood, stone, metal and ivory, weaving, spinning, and agriculture were all the object of assiduous attention. Among the monks of St Gall there were historians, theologians, artists, poets, and musicians.

One of the first *magistri* whose name has come down to us is Werinberht[2], who had been educated at Fulda by Rabanus Maurus; he was one of the teachers of Notker Balbulus. Hartmuot, later Abbot of St Gall, also taught in the school. Otfrid of Weissenburg sent a copy of his *Evangelienbuch* to these two men, whom he addresses as "Sancti Galli monasterii monachi"; they had been fellow-students of his at Fulda. In 849 Ermenrich came from Reichenau, where he had studied under Grimald, to complete his education at St Gall. In his epistle to Grimald[3] he praises his teachers Engilberht and Hartmuot. This letter shows that the school of St Gall was already so famous that it attracted pupils from outside.

[1] Von Arx in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 1.
[2] Cf. Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 88.
[3] Ed. E. Dümmler in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XII, 485.

Iso was the first *magister* of note whom the monks of St Gall produced from their own ranks; his name occurs in charters between 852 and 868. His contemporary Moengal, who entered the Abbey about the year 850, was a man of vast learning and a great acquisition to the St Gall school. His pupils, Notker Balbulus and Ratpert, were excellent scholars for that time, and it was while they were in charge of the school, in the days of Abbot Salomo (890–920), that St Gall reached the zenith of its fame.

We are accustomed to regard the period that followed in the history of the Abbey as one of decadence, but it cannot be denied that the school continued to send forth famous scholars to other monasteries. St Ulrich (890–973) introduced the St Gall curriculum and teaching methods at Augsburg. Bishop Balderich (973–986) did the same thing at Speier. At Salzburg and Liège St Gall monks held offices of honour and responsibility. Bishop Erkanbold (965–991) summoned the St Gall monk Victor to Strassburg and entrusted him with the care of the Cathedral school. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Abbey was still renowned for its scholarship, thanks to the efforts of Notker Labeo.

The introduction of the Cluniac reform in 1030 was a serious blow to education, and the subsequent political disturbances brought about the ruin of the school. It is symptomatic of the decay of learning that in the twelfth century the teacher's post was converted into a benefice, and was given to a stranger, who was called "scolasticus" or "Schuolmaister[1]." The monks of St Gall were thus relieved of the necessity of learning and teaching. They did not even need to know Latin, since the parish priest of St Othmar's and his two assistants sufficed for the celebration of mass, and divine service was finally removed from the Abbey to St Lawrence's Church[2].

There are, however, oases in the desert of ignorance and worldliness. Abbot Ulrich VI (1204–1220) stands out among his

[1] Some of their names are recorded, e.g. Ulricus (twelfth century), Heinricus (floruit 1245), Johannes (1262–1297), Hug (floruit 1303); *vide Das zweite St Galler Todtenbuch*, pp. 438–448; Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, III, 205–6, 713, 720, 839.

[2] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 325.

contemporaries as a man of light and learning. He had studied at Paris and Bologna, which was a very unusual distinction for a Swabian of that day. Conradus de Fabaria, the historian of Ulrich VI's reign, wrote an excellent Latin style, if we judge by contemporary standards. It is certain that he had visited Italy, and Ildefons von Arx was of the opinion that he had been educated at Bologna[1], because he shows some acquaintance with scholastic philosophy. It might, however, be added that there was another channel by which the study of Aristotle may have reached St Gall, viz. from Würzburg. The Irish scholar David wrote a commentary on the work *De Interpretatione* about the year 1137[2]. As I have already endeavoured to show, there is good reason to believe that David of Würzburg was closely connected with St Gall.

The Bull *Summi Magistri* of 1336 had a salutary effect on conventual education. It enacted that monks should be sent to universities from all monasteries, in the proportion of one out of twenty in each community. The scholars thus selected studied theology and canon law. Various St Gall abbots complied with this regulation, for instance Ulrich Rösch (1463–1491), who sent several monks to Paris, where they belonged to the Allemanni, one of the four "nations" into which the undergraduates were divided.

In the ground-plan of 820 provision is made both for an inner and an outer school. The former must have existed before this date, the latter was opened as a result of Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* of 787, which ordered that in every monastery boys should be taught the Psalter, the alphabet, singing, the computus, and grammar.

That the two schools of the plan were both actually built is proved by numerous references and allusions in St Gall literature. We are told[3] that Ekkehard II had charge of "both schools" (ambas scolas), that Moengal taught in the inner, and Iso in the outer school[4]. There can be little doubt that the two buildings were in different parts of the Abbey precincts. The inner school

[1] *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 164.
[2] A. H. L. Heeren, *Historische Werke*, VI, 258, n. 1.
[3] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 89, p. 317.
[4] *Ibid.*, cap. 2, pp. 10–11; cf. p. 213, n. 732.

was situated within the cloisters (claustrum), whereas the outer school was to the north of the church[1]. In this way monks and laymen were kept apart.

To what extent was the separation of the two schools general in Charlemagne's time[2]? The great Emperor ordered that facilities should be offered for the education of the laity[3]. Hence the existing conventual and cathedral schools had to be adapted for this purpose. Where circumstances permitted, the two classes would probably be kept apart; where there was lack of accommodation, one building, or even one classroom, would have to suffice. The division of schools must have been fairly common, because in the Capitulary of 817 Louis the Pious enacted that all outer schools should be abolished. Gabriel Meier is therefore wrong in saying that the St Gall system was all but unique, and that the only other known instance was at St Hubert's in the Ardennes[4].

The reason for the separation of the two buildings is to be sought in the fact that in the inner school the novices and oblates were taught. They were monks in being and hence were cut off from the world, whereas in the outer school the sons of wealthy nobles were trained and when their education was completed they left the Abbey, although it occasionally happened that they chose the religious life[5]. The inner school was certainly by far the most important of the two; the standard of teaching was higher, the course of instruction was much longer. It is characteristic that the great scholar Moengal taught the young monks, while Iso was the superintendent of the outer school.

The novices and oblates wore monastic garb, whereas the pupils of the outer school wore the white robe of the secular priest. But the discipline to which the latter were subjected was quite as rigorous as that of the cloisters. There were wardens (circatores) whose duty it was to keep order. They were generally old monks and their vigilance was unceasing. They went on

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 89.

[2] Cf. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 32.

[3] Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 96–103.

[4] *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen im Mittelalter*, p. 119. For other examples, e.g. Lauterburg near Halle and Reichenau, *vide* Specht, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 309.

[5] *Vita Sancti Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 86, n. 249; p. 90, n. 259.

their rounds at all hours to see that everyone was doing his task; they supervised both the young boys and their elders. If they detected any misdemeanour they silently wrote the name of the culprit on their wax tablets and brought the matter up the next morning in the chapter[1]. Corporal punishment was frequently resorted to. Ratpert and Notker the Physician were notoriously severe[2].

On church festivals the restraining hand was removed and there were no punishments. Books were put away, and when mass was over games were permitted. We have a very graphic account of the holiday rejoicings at St Gall from the pen of Ekkehard IV[3]. Joy reigned supreme. The boys hurled the stone, ran races, and wrestled. Till evening fell, the contests went on, then the great treat of the day began: torches, bathing, and wine.

Besides the chief festivals of the church, other days were observed as holidays, for instance the day after Epiphany. When Conrad came in 911, he granted the boys three days' holiday in perpetuity in commemoration of his visit[4]. Salomo III increased the value of this privilege by adding permission to eat meat on these days, and allowing each boy to receive three dishes of food, together with wine, from the Abbot's own kitchen. Erchenbert, a ministerial of the Abbey, provided the necessary funds for every scholar to have a glass of wine on Easter Sunday[5].

As a rule there seem to have been only two teachers at St Gall; one for the outer, and another for the inner school[6], but there is good reason to suppose that in the eleventh century additional masters were needed: in the years 1022–3 four teachers, Notker Labeo, Ruodpert, Anno, and Erimpert, died of the plague and were all buried in the same grave[7].

Tuition was gratuitous, but the pupils very often gave presents to their teachers, and the boys in the outer school had to pay for their board and lodging and provide their own clothes. St Wiborada is said to have taken up her abode in the immediate

[1] Specht, pp. 161–2.
[2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 138.
[3] Printed by Dümmler, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* XIV (1869), 45.
[4] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 16, pp. 60–1.
[5] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, II, 392.
[6] Cf. however Specht, p. 159.
[7] Dümmler, *Ekkehard IV*, pp. 49–50.

neighbourhood of the Abbey in order to help her brother Hitto, who was a pupil in the outer school, and to supply his wants with regard to clothing and other essentials[1].

Very little provision was made for poor scholars in the outer school. The majority of the pupils were the sons of rich parents. Some boys who were not so fortunately placed earned money by copying books. We hear of one who "though sprung from poor parents, was very earnest in his zeal for learning. When deprived of all support by the premature death of both his parents, he most assiduously earned his daily bread by his labours[2]." Balther, the biographer of St Fridolin, who had studied under Notker Labeo at St Gall, was compelled to leave the school because of his poverty, and he wandered for four years through France as a *scholasticus vagans* begging his bread[3].

The *artes liberales*, which formed the ordinary education of a free-born Roman citizen, were the foundation on which the whole structure of mediæval teaching was built up. As regards methods and text-books the Middle Ages were content to follow in the footsteps of antiquity. In 774 a Bavarian synod enacted that "Every bishop shall found a school and appoint a learned master who is able to teach according to the tradition of the Romans[4]." The curriculum comprised seven subjects, viz. Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. They were divided into two groups, to which Boethius gave the names of Trivium and Quadrivium, the threefold and the fourfold way.

All these disciplines were treated by the Neo-Platonist Martianus Capella in the nine volumes entitled *De Nuptiis Philologiæ cum Mercurio*. This was a compendium of the seven liberal arts clothed in a fantastic allegorical form. Its popularity was immense. Gregory of Tours looked upon it as the essence and epitome of all scholastic wisdom[5]; Notker Labeo of St Gall trans-

[1] *Hartmanni Vita S. Wiboradæ* in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, IV, 452. Cf. however *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 57, p. 213, n. 734.

[2] Walafrid Strabo, *Vita Sancti Galli*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 334.

[3] *Vita S. Fridolini*, in Mone, *Quellensammlung der badischen Landesgeschichte*, I, 4.

[4] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, pp. 13–14.

[5] *Historia Francorum*, X, 31; *Mon. Ger. Hist., Script. Rer. Merov.* I, 1, 449, quoted by Specht, *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

lated the whole work into German. But as the work could only be understood by those who had a thorough command of Latin literature and classical mythology, it was quite unsuitable for beginners, and was read together with Virgil after the first difficulties of the Trivium had been mastered. The other educational text-books used were either classical authors or mediæval compilations based on such writers. Many of the latter were in dialogue form, e.g. those of Bede and Rabanus Maurus, in which the pupil asks questions and the teacher answers them.

We are exceptionally well informed about the course of instruction at St Gall. One of the most valuable sources of our knowledge is a letter from Notker Balbulus to his pupil Salomo[1], in which the teacher recapitulates the work done in his classes. The boys begin with the alphabet; when they have grown in years and in wisdom, they proceed to the pitfalls of Dialectic, the questions of Grammar, and the attacks of Rhetoric. They know the position of different countries on the globe, the course of the planets and influences of the constellations, but they can also give information on obscure questions relating to the Law and the Prophets. Here we have an epitome of the Trivium and Quadrivium. We are expressly told that Moengal, Notker's teacher, taught the seven liberal arts[2]. The order in which the different subjects are enumerated is unusual. Generally Grammar is the first of the seven disciplines, but the relative position of Dialectic and Rhetoric varies. Grammar and Rhetoric tended to merge into each other and could not be separated by any hard and fast line, moreover Dialectic usurped to herself in the course of time some of the functions of Grammar. In the Quadrivium there was no fixed order of subjects.

It will be seen from Notker's brief summary that before the Trivium proper was commenced, a considerable amount of time was devoted to the first rudiments. This preliminary stage usually took about three years, and after its conclusion what we should call secondary education began[3]. In all probability the children were first instructed in the elements of the Christian faith; they had to learn by heart the *paternoster* and the *credo*

[1] E. Dümmler, *Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III von Konstanz*, pp. 50–52. [2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 33, p. 127. [3] Specht, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.

and perhaps also the Athanasian Creed[1], in order that they might be firmly established in the orthodox doctrines concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation. Then they learnt the Psalter, so that they could take part in the canonical office as soon as possible. As the pupils could not read, the teacher had to repeat the Psalms again and again until the whole hundred and fifty were thoroughly remembered. This was especially important for those who intended to take holy orders. It was prescribed by law that every priest should know the Psalter and other liturgical writings by heart[2].

Then began the three r's. Reading was taught by means of small tablets or leaves of parchment, on which the letters of the alphabet were written. The first reading-book was the Psalter, and by this means the text was still more firmly imprinted on the boys' minds. Great stress was laid on precise articulation and pronunciation. The slightest blunder in reading during the church services or at meal-times was regarded as a serious offence[3]; according to the strict letter of the Benedictine Rule the delinquent was liable to corporal punishment[4].

Writing was learnt from the verse: "Adnexique globum zephyrique kanna secabant," which was copied again and again; because, although quite meaningless, it contained all the letters in the alphabet except f. We also find it with a slight variation, viz. the addition of "fræta" after "zephyri[5]." In the writing lessons the boys had wax tablets on which they inscribed the letters with a style. After this stage had been passed, the pupils were allowed to write with pen and ink on parchment. It sometimes happened that boys who were quite young, or backward in their studies, were put to copy manuscripts, and in this way many blunders crept into the texts. Some St Gall codices are described as "puerili pollice scriptus[6]."

[1] Specht, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59–60. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–3.

[3] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 57, p. 213: "In refectorio coram patribus, ubi vel in puncto peccare capitale erat."

[4] "Infantes autem pro tali culpa vapulent," *S. Benedicti Regula*, cap. XLV, *De his qui falluntur in oratorio*. For the severity of discipline at St Gall *vide* G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, pp. 121–2.

[5] On a single leaf of parchment on the back of Codex 124; above and below are two attempts to copy it.

[6] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 72.

Elementary education also included the first steps in music, arithmetic, and Latin grammar. The main text of the litanies, certain portions of the sequences, and some antiphons and responsories were sung by the boys alone. Hence they had to be taught singing almost from the very beginning of their life in the monastery, and they continued to learn it until their education was completed.

Not only did this subject take up a great deal of time, but it was also very onerous. Nowhere was the rod used so freely as in the singing class. The pupils had first to learn the complicated system of signs then used in musical notation and they had also to know the melodies by heart. Years of teaching and constant practice were necessary before the tunes could be fixed in the pupils' minds.

The elementary instruction in arithmetic probably amounted to little more than counting and reckoning. As in the schools of ancient Rome, the boys were taught to represent numbers by certain movements of the fingers, not unlike the deaf and dumb alphabet. Counting and addition were done by means of the fingers.

The unknown author of a work attributed to Bede urged that Latin grammar should be begun early[1], and we have every reason to believe that at St Gall this advice was followed. First the different parts of speech were distinguished, then came exercises in declension and conjugation. At the same time lists of words were committed to memory, so that the pupils might acquire a sufficiently large vocabulary to be able to speak Latin together. We are told that in the St Gall school at the time of Ekkehard II, none of the boys, except the very smallest, were allowed to speak to their fellow-pupils in any other language but Latin[2].

In the early Middle Ages Grammar held the first place in the curriculum. It comprised the rules that regulate speech, the reading and explanation of certain standard authors. Rabanus Maurus extolled the virtues of Grammar, because it enabled men

[1] *Cunabula Grammaticæ Artis Donati*, ed. Migne, xc, 614.

[2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 89, p. 317: "Nam cum apud suum Gallum ambas scolas suas teneret, nemo præter exiles pusiones quicquam alteri, nisi Latine, ausus est proloqui."

to speak and write correctly, and it gave them the power to understand the hidden meaning of the Scriptures, when the literal sense was unintelligible. The study of prosody was also beneficial, because the Christian poets were well versed in it, and it was only by virtue of their knowledge that they had been able to write such splendid verse.

The first text-book used in the teaching of Grammar in the Middle Ages was the *Ars Minor* of Ælius Donatus, who had great authority because he was the teacher of St Jerome. *Donatus Minor*, as the book was often called, was very popular in conventual schools because of its lucidity and conciseness; it also had the advantage of being in dialogue form. The *Ars Grammatica*, a larger work in three volumes, was used together with the *Ars Minor* at St Gall[1]. Donatus wrote for young Romans, and took a good deal for granted. Hence his work had to be expanded and annotated before it could be of practical use in a Carolingian monastery. One of the best known text-books based on Donatus was that of Alcuin; two copies of it are still preserved at St Gall[2].

Notker Balbulus specially recommends Alcuin's Grammar to his pupils. He asserts that Donatus, Nicomachus, Dositheus, and even Priscian are poor in comparison[3]. No one was less likely to indulge in a pedantic display of his own erudition than Notker. If he mentioned Nicomachus, Dositheus, and Priscian, it was because he was familiar with their works. It is true that the St Gall *Dositheus*[4] is not explicitly mentioned in the oldest catalogue, and the earliest reference to it dates from 1461[5], but the title may have been omitted in the catalogue simply because the treatise was bound together with other similar works.

The conventual library possesses a copy of Priscian written in Ireland, but it did not come to St Gall till the tenth century[6]. However, the oldest catalogue mentions a Priscian[7], and it is indeed unthinkable that this famous grammarian should not have been read and expounded at St Gall, the more so because he was very popular with the Irish. Priscian was too difficult

[1] Codex 877. [2] Nos. 268, 878, pp. 322–3, 340–4.
[3] Dümmler, *Formelbuch*, p. 72. [4] No. 902.
[5] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 318.
[6] No. 904. [7] Cf. Scherrer, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

for elementary tuition; his book was used for advanced study only.

As regards the method of teaching, we may safely assume that as a general rule only the teacher possessed a book. He would read the lesson aloud, and the pupils wrote it down on their wax tablets or repeated it after him until they knew it by heart. It was doubtless the ambition of every earnest student to have a grammar of his own, and if a boy managed to secure the necessary amount of parchment he would copy the text himself, either from the master's book or from his own notes[1].

After the boys had learnt the Psalter, that is to say about the age of ten, they studied Avianus' edition of Æsop's fables and a collection of maxims which went by the name of Cato Censorius. These reading-books were translated literally and learnt by heart. This at least was the general custom in German conventual schools from the eleventh century onwards[2]. In the late Middle Ages fables were read at St Gall, but there is no copy of Æsop in the library that is older than the fifteenth century[3]. We also know Notker Balbulus' aversion for *fabulæ gentium*. It is therefore quite possible that Prudentius took the place of Æsop in the school of St Gall. His poems would afford an opportunity for learning the first principles of prosody.

A more complete knowledge of this science was however required before the classical poets could be approached. The rules of versification were learnt from Mallius Theodorus, of whose works there are three copies in the St Gall library[4], Diomedes[5], and Bede[6].

In Donatus and Priscian the grammatical examples are principally taken from the *Æneid*, and Priscian wrote a special treatise on the use of Virgil in the teaching of grammar. It was, therefore, natural that Virgil should be read much more than

[1] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 93.

[2] Ernst Voigt, *Das erste Lesebuch des Triviums in den Kloster- und Stiftsschulen des Mittelalters*, in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, Berlin, 1891, I, 42–53.

[3] There is however a small fragment containing metrical fables in a manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century (No. 1396, pp. 1–4); *vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 464.

[4] De Metris in Nos. 855, 876; Cæsura versuum in No. 877.

[5] In No. 876.

[6] Nos. 876, pp. 208–257; 878, pp. 91–148.

the other Latin poets. In the Middle Ages his popularity was enormous, and in spite of occasional attacks by ascetic moralists, his place of honour in the Trivium was secure. He was especially well known at St Gall. Ekkehard I imitated him closely in the *Waltharius lied.* Notker Balbulus quotes Virgil in the *Gesta Caroli Magni*[1]. Abbot Grimald presented to the library his own copy of the Latin poet, of which two pages are preserved in the *Book of Fragments*[2]. That the book had been well used is evident from the German glosses it contains.

The two volumes[3] with portions of Virgil's works which are at present to be seen at St Gall, date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but there is a beautiful tenth century copy of Servius' commentary[4] to Virgil in the conventual library.

Virgil's great rivals were the Christian poets, Sedulius, Juvencus, Arator, Ambrose, and above all Prudentius. "These are more suitable for the Christian youth than the fables of the heathen," said Notker Balbulus[5]. They were all read and expounded at St Gall; the principles of grammar and prosody were illustrated by examples from their works. Many of their poems were learnt by heart and were imitated by the local versifiers. "Prudentissimus Prudentius" was the favourite poet of Notker Balbulus, in whose time the Abbey possessed a magnificent illustrated edition of the Christian poet[6].

Virgil was not the only classical poet whose works were read at St Gall, but his position was pre-eminent. Horace was not such a favourite. In his letter to Salomo Notker acknowledged that this poet was truthful, but he considered him licentious and hence to be avoided. There is a valuable manuscript of his works in the Vadiana library at St Gall; doubtless it formerly belonged to the Abbey. It contains the text, marginal and interlinear glosses and a commentary, all written in a small, neat hand of the tenth century[7]. There is also a copy of the *Odes* in the conventual library[8], but it dates from the eleventh century and

[1] G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen im Mittelalter*, p. 103.
[2] No. 1394, pp. 109–112; *vide* Scherrer, *op. cit.*, p. 459.
[3] Nos. 856, 858. [4] Nos. 861–2. [5] Dümmler, *Formelbuch*, p. 73.
[6] Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1895), p. 90.
[7] No. 312.
[8] No. 864, pp. 6–118; the last four Odes of Book IV are missing.

hence cannot be identical with the volume of Horace presented by the Duchess Hadwig to her young pupil Burkhard[1].

We are able to form a tolerably accurate conception of the classical studies at St Gall in the tenth century, because Walther, a pupil of the Cathedral School of Speier, gives us a list of the authors he has himself read, and we know that Bishop Balderich (970–986) remodelled the school of Speier on the pattern of St Gall[2]. We learn that the following writers were studied: Homerus Latinus, Martianus Capella, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Statius, Terence, Lucan, and Boethius (*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*). A very similar course of instruction was pursued at other contemporary schools. There is, moreover, further evidence that the classical writers enumerated by Walther of Speier were all read at St Gall. Copies of Persius[3], Juvenal[4], Statius[5], and Lucan[6] are to be seen in the library to-day. The St Gall manuscript of Juvenal's *Satires* dates from the eleventh century, but this poet must have been studied earlier because a ninth century codex contains commentaries and glosses to his works and to those of Persius[7]. The *Pharsalia* were copied in the tenth century. In the *Book of Fragments*[8] there are five leaves from the Comedies of Terence (*Eunuchus*, *Andria*, and *Hecyra*) in a tenth-century hand. Notker Labeo translated the *Andria* into German.

We may compare Walther's curriculum with that of Ekkehard IV. The latter shows himself to be familiar with the Fathers of the Church, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, with the Christian poets Sedulius and Juvencus, and also with Josephus, Orosius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Johannes Diaconus, Einhard, Bede, and Alcuin. We are not surprised to learn that he is well versed in Donatus and Priscian, but he has even read Quintilian. Virgil he quotes five times; he knows his Horace well and has some knowledge of Ennius, Terence, Cicero, Ovid, Sallust, Persius, Lucan, Statius, and Juvenal[9]. It will be

[1] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 297.
[2] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 100.
[3] Nos. 213, 858. [4] No. 871. [5] No. 865.
[6] No. 863. [7] No. 870, pp. 31–326. [8] No. 1394, p. 112.
[9] E. Dümmler, *Ekkehard IV*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), 9, 11, 12, 21, 22, 27.

noticed that, with the exception of Homerus Latinus, every classical author mentioned by Walther of Speier occurs in the above list.

As regards the further development of classical studies at St Gall, there is little to be said; the decline was rapid and disastrous. The first anonymous continuator of the *Casus*, who began his chronicle shortly after 1076, was acquainted with Boethius, and quotes him several times, but he does not display any further knowledge of Latin literature. A later St Gall chronicler, Conradus de Fabaria (fl. 1230), was a better historian than any of his predecessors[1] and his scholarship was by no means contemptible. He quotes the *Ars Poetica*[2] and alludes to Horace on two other occasions[3]. He indulges in reminiscences of Ovid[4] and Augustine[5].

It is generally supposed that the method adopted in reading the classical poets was as follows: first the Latin text was translated by the pupils into German, then the difficult words and phrases were explained in Latin. Finally the verse was paraphrased in prose, just as was the custom in the schools of antiquity. The study of Grammar was pursued in a narrow utilitarian spirit. The object of the teacher was not to help his pupils to appreciate the beauty of poetry or to reveal to them the spirit of a particular author, but rather to illustrate the rules of grammar and prosody. The ambition of a ninth-century schoolmaster was to train boys to write Latin verse fluently, and the gift of facile improvisation was considered to be the highest form of talent. Ekkehard IV tells us with evident pride that when Burkhard was a mere child he was able to answer the Duchess Hadwig in rhyme[6].

The reading of Virgil and other standard authors constituted the theoretic part of a literary education; the practical part was free composition. The curriculum began, as far as we can judge, with essay writing in Latin prose (dictamen prosaicum), then followed rhymed prose (prosimetrum), and finally rhymed hexameters (dictamen metricum, carmen). When Bishop Salomo

[1] *Vide Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XVI, 639–640.
[2] *Continuatio Casuum*, p. 198.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 251.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 239; *vide* n. 291.
[6] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 94, p. 344.

entered the St Gall school, the pupils addressed him in Latin: "the smallest boys as well as they were able, the middle-sized ones rhythmically, and the others metrically, or even rhetorically, as if they were speaking from the rostrum." The youngest pupils had not passed the stage of the *dictamen prosaicum*, the intermediate class could improvise rhythmic prose, while the most advanced boys were skilled in versification and had studied Rhetoric, the second subject in the Trivium[1].

Notker Balbulus relates that when Charlemagne returned to Gaul, he sent for the best pupils of the Irish teacher Clemens and ordered them to show him their exercises in prose and verse (epistolas et carmina sua)[2]. At the time of Notker the *dictamen metricum* was very popular at St Gall; he urged his pupils to continue to practise verse-making after they had left school[3]. A century later Abbot Burkhard gave great encouragement to the writing of Latin poetry[4].

Poems were written on set themes, usually taken from the Scriptures, or the lives of the Saints; sometimes a prose *Vita* had to be re-written in Latin verse. But secular subjects were by no means unknown: an unconventional St Gall teacher actually chose one from the sphere of Germanic saga[5]. The arrival of royal guests furnished the occasion for the composition of an ode or address of welcome. A large number of such poems, many of them set to music, have been preserved. The vast industry employed in writing and copying Latin verse may be judged by a glance at the catalogue of the St Gall library[6], thirty-five pages of which contain nothing but the titles of Latin hymns and poems. Yet there is very little real poetry in it all. Apart from some of the work of Notker Balbulus[7] in sapphic strophes, the hexameter is almost invariably used. At the beginning of the ninth century internal rhyme came into vogue, and the resulting doggerel (Leonine verse) remained in fashion

[1] *Ibid.*, cap. 26, p. 105.
[2] *Gesta Karoli*, I, cap. 3; *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, Tom. II, p. 732.
[3] G. Meier, *loc. cit.*, p. 110.
[4] *Vide* E. Dümmler, *Ekkehard IV, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), p. 3.
[5] *Vide infra*, p. 24.
[6] *Vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, pp. 509–544.
[7] E.g. the Hymn to St Stephan, in Codex 456, pp. 300–2.

till the Renaissance swept it away[1]. Even prose is disfigured by jingling rhymes.

The monks of St Gall prided themselves on the correctness of their Latinity, and great was their delight on a certain celebrated occasion when they caught an Italian grammarian napping. Gunzo, a deacon of Novara, had been summoned by the Emperor Otto I to Flanders[2], and was on his way to the Abbey of St Amand. When he reached the hospitable gates of St Gall, he was fatigued by the long journey over the Alps, and so benumbed by the cold that he had to be assisted from his horse. His reception left nothing to be desired. The strictness of the discipline, the decorous behaviour of the monks made an excellent impression on him, but after the evening meal, when they were sitting over their wine, Gunzo had the misfortune to use an accusative instead of an ablative. This slight lapse did not pass unnoticed. One of the pupils of the school told the stranger roundly that such a crime against grammar deserved the rod, and later one of the monks, apparently Ekkehard II, recited a satirical poem on the subject. Gunzo nursed his wrath, but on his arrival at St Amand he wrote a laboured epistle to the monks of Reichenau, bitterly complaining of the discourtesy shown him, defending his blunder with copious quotations from the classics, and parading his scholarship with all the devices known to pedantry[3].

In justice to Gunzo it must be admitted that the most learned monks of St Gall, Notker Balbulus, Ratpert, Notker Labeo, and Ekkehard IV wrote a very bad Latin style. They use *ut* with the indicative or the subjunctive quite promiscuously. They employ a periphrastic construction instead of the future, *dicere habebimus* instead of *dicemus*. The *Casus* are full of Germanisms, e.g. *mensam tenere* (Tafel halten), *quiddam avidior* (etwas gieriger; somewhat greedier). There are also gross grammatical errors: deponent verbs are used in the passive, e.g. *pauperibus consolatis*.

[1] Meier, *Geschichte der Schule*, p. 110.

[2] In the year 960.

[3] *Epistola Gunzonis ad Augienses Fratres*, in *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio*, ed. Martène et Durand, Tom. I, pp. 294–314; also in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXXXVI, 1283–1302. For Gunzo *vide* Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Ævi*, 2nd ed., I, 566.

Ekkehard IV was aware of the difference between classical and mediæval Latin; in defence of the latter he appealed to the authority of the Fathers of the Church[1]. Yet curiously enough he endeavoured to find Ciceronian equivalents for words of dubious Latinity. Thus he called the chapter *senatus*, the monk's gown *toga prætexta*; he spoke of the legions of the Hungarians, and he reminds us of the humanists of the Renaissance when he calls St Peter "a heavenly Consul" and St Gall "a divine Prætor[2]."

Unlike his teacher Notker Labeo, whose affection for his mother-tongue was proverbial, Ekkehard had a marked predilection for Latin, and despised the vernacular[3], which he considered to be good enough for the Devil. He strongly condemns the common habit of literal translation:

> The nature of the barbaric tongue does not allow a German, however hard he tries, to become a Latinist all at once. Therefore half-schoolmasters (semi-magistri) teach their pupils very badly when they say: "See how the matter is most clearly expressed in German, and then translate the words into Latin in the same order[4]."

To what extent was Latin in colloquial use at St Gall? It is hard to believe that it was the exclusive medium of expression, because the *conversi*, who entered the Abbey in later life, would not have found it easy to learn a new language. We are even informed, although it is scarcely credible, that at the time of Salomo a St Gall monk in holy orders was ignorant of Latin[5]. As we have seen, at the time of Ekkehard II all the boys, except the very smallest, were compelled to talk Latin[6]. Probably at meal-times, in the chapter, and on similar occasions the vernacular was prohibited[7]. It was considered a great innovation when Notker Labeo used German in his classes.

Many of the text-books used in conventual schools contain glosses in a secret code. The usual system, which we meet with

[1] Dümmler, *Ekkehard IV*, p. 22.
[2] G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 96.
[3] Dümmler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[4] *Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 80, pp. 286–9.
[5] *Ibid.*, cap. 36, p. 134; cf. p. 132, n. 454.
[6] *Vide supra*, p. 99.
[7] G. Meier, *loc. cit.*

at St Gall[1], consists of substituting for every vowel the following consonant. Thus, in a Latin commentary to Boethius[2] the following glosses occur between the lines:

studio: flkzzf (flizze, modern "Fleiss")
otia: mxpzzb (muozza)
zephyrus: uufstbn (uuestan).

It is thought that these glosses were a key for the use of the teacher. A device of this kind was serviceable enough when the same volume was employed by master and pupil alike. But one wonders what happened when an ingenious boy deciphered the code.

There is another literary curiosity in the St Gall library, viz. the Tironian notes. With the help of these stenographic signs the pupils in the school were able to take down their teachers' words with considerable rapidity. They were, however, so numerous that it was a difficult matter to remember them, which is one of the reasons why this art gradually disappeared. Tironian notes occur in three St Gall manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries[3], and in various Carolingian charters[4]. After this period the knowledge of shorthand must have died out at St Gall.

With certain notable exceptions, the monks of St Gall did not possess more than a very superficial knowledge of Greek. The alphabet may have been taught in the school: it occurs in no less than fifteen different manuscripts[5]. The Greek Paternoster, Litany, and Symbol were frequently copied, but as a rule the scribe did not understand the meaning of the separate words. Ermenrich produces a few words of Greek in his *Epistle to Grimald*[6], but rather to display his own learning than for any more useful purpose.

[1] A list of the examples to be found at St Gall in Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 639.

[2] Codex 845 (tenth century), printed in Hattemer, *Denkmahle*, III, 609 sqq. and Steinmeyer, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, II, 54 sqq. Cf. also Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, p. 8, n. 6.

[3] *Vide* Scherrer, *loc. cit.* Cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 7th edition (1904), II, 270, n. 1; and, for the pre-Carolingian period, Otto Denk, *Geschichte des gallo-fränkischen Unterrichts- und Bildungswesens*, Mainz, 1892.

[4] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, II, 401–2.

[5] *Vide* Scherrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 638–9.

[6] Edited by E. Dümmler, Halle, 1873.

In his famous letter to Lantpert[1], Notker Balbulus refers to the "ellenici fratres" of St Gall. Who were these Hellenic brethren who lived at St Gall in the second half of the ninth century? Symeon Achivus, a monk who died at Reichenau in the tenth century, was a Greek[2], but there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence of the presence of Greek monks at St Gall. According to Ekkehard IV[3], Notker himself copied the seven Catholic Epistles "multis sudoribus" in the original tongue. In spite of this clear statement some historians refuse to believe that Notker knew Greek, because in a letter to Salomo of Constance, he asks the Bishop to order Origen's commentary on the *Song of Songs* to be translated by someone who was proficient in both Latin and Greek. As Dr Stettiner has pointed out[4], this conclusion is quite illogical. The passage in question merely says that Notker will not be able "morte præventus" to translate Origen's work; he therefore asks his former pupil Salomo to repay the debt he owes his old teacher by having the book translated. It would be strange if Notker Balbulus, who continually uses Greek words in his writings[5], was ignorant of the Greek language. He certainly had excellent opportunities of learning it.

Notker was, as he himself tells us[6], a pupil of the Irish scholar Moengal. The latter was one of the finest scholars of his day. He belonged, as we have shown elsewhere[7], to the small circle of Irish monks of which Sedulius Scotus was the leading representative. One of the distinguishing features of this learned company was their knowledge of Greek. It is to them that we owe the St Gall *Interlinear Gospels*[8], containing the Greek text with a Latin translation. This manuscript was written about the middle of the ninth century, and was intended for use in the

[1] Codex 381, p. 9; printed in *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft* (Zürich), XII, 224.

[2] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 109; *Das alte Necrologium von Reichenau*, ed. F. Keller, p. 62.

[3] *Casus*, cap. 46, pp. 160–1.

[4] *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1895), p. 115.

[5] Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 479; cf. also *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XLVII (1904), p. 348.

[6] "Magistro meo Marcello," in the letter to Liutward, printed by Gerbert, *De Cantu*, I, 412–13 from Codex 376, p. 316.

[7] *Vide ante*, pp. 37–8.

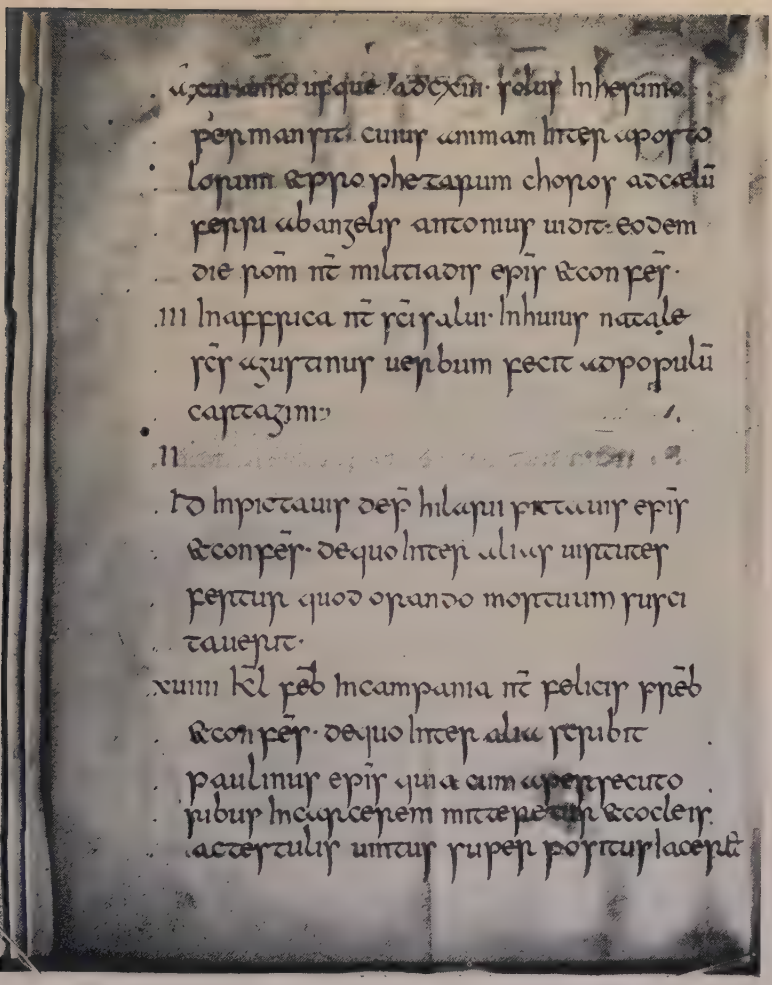
[8] Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, pp. 346–7.

school, because there are grammatical explanations of cases and tenses that are evidently meant for beginners. Nor is this all. The *Codex Sangallensis* contains a page[1] written in a strange mixture of Latin and Greek that proves to be a detailed description of the miniatures in a Greek copy of the Gospels. It is more than probable that this description was made for the purpose of instructing illuminators in their task of illustrating the Gospels. The scribe was an Irishman, and apparently he rather prided himself on his knowledge of Greek, because at the end of his work he attempted a Greek hexameter[2]:

Γραμματα γραινγενων κατα σκηματα σοφε γυνοσκεις.

The *Codex Sangallensis* is by no means the only relic of Irish scholarship at St Gall in this period. There is a beautifully written Psalter in the University Library of Basel[3], with the Greek and Latin texts. From the insular script and the hymn in honour of St Bridget in which Ireland is styled "nostra insula que vocatur beatissime," we are inclined to conclude that the scribe was an Irishman, which conclusion becomes a certainty when we see the note "Huc usque scripsi. Hic incipit ad Marcellum." Marcellus was the nickname of Moengal. There is, moreover, a striking resemblance between the Basel Psalter on the one hand and the *Codices Sangallensis* and *Boernianus* on the other hand. If they are not actually the products of the same scriptorium and the same scribes, we can at least confidently ascribe them to the same school, and identify Marcellus of St Gall with the monk mentioned in the Basel manuscript. M. Berger suspects that there is a close connection between the latter and a bilingual Psalter at St Gall, which was written at the end of the ninth century. It has been shown that this codex has the same text as that of Salomo's Hebrew Psalter[4], which points to a common source. Now Salomo was, like Notker Balbulus, a pupil of Moengal.

[1] S. Berger, *De la tradition grecque*, p. 148.
[2] G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 106.
[3] No. A VII 3; *vide* Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[4] No. A I, 14 in the Cathedral Library of Bamberg; it is a synoptic arrangement of St Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, the Vulgate, a Latin translation of the Septuagint and the Greek Psalter in Latin script.



A ST GALL MARTYROLOGY IN INSULAR SCRIPT

NO. 451, P. 6

In the second half of the ninth century there were two Irish monks at St Gall, namely Marcus and Moengal, who were friends of Sedulius; perhaps Maelchomber was also a member of the same circle. Through the instrumentality of these monks Greek manuscripts found their way to St Gall and were copied there. The originals came, to judge by both external and internal evidence, from Northern Italy. Sedulius himself lived for some time at Pavia, where there was an Irish colony which was in constant communication with other Irish centres, e.g. Liège, Salzburg, and St Gall[1]. Notker Balbulus is said to have borrowed Greek manuscripts from Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli (880–901)[2], who was a Swabian and therefore specially interested in the northern abbey. The evidence of textual criticism points in the same direction. Northern Italy was the source of the bilingual texts copied at St Gall[3].

While these manuscripts were being transcribed, Greek was taught in the inner school, of which Moengal was the superintendent. The Swabian monks who learnt Greek were Notker, Salomo, and possibly Tuotilo. The case for Notker is strong, but we have very few data regarding Tuotilo. Ekkehard informs us that he was a skilful versifier in both languages[4]. Does this mean Latin and Greek? Professor Von Knonau thinks not; he explains it as signifying Latin and German. There is at least a possibility that the two classical languages are meant. Cassiodorus uses the phrase "both tongues" in this sense[5]. In short the *fratres ellenici* were the Irish monks of St Gall and their Swabian pupils.

The number of Greek manuscripts in the Abbey must have been originally much greater than it is to-day. Some have been dispersed, others mutilated or destroyed. To the first class belongs the Basel Psalter, perhaps also another copy of the same book at Treves[6]; to the second group we may reckon various fragments preserved in the library, viz. three leaves of a ninth-

[1] *Vide ante*, pp. 35–6.
[2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 46, pp. 160–1; cf. however *ibid.* n. 575.
[3] Berger, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.
[4] "Concinnandi in utraque lingua potens," *Casus*, cap. 34, p. 129.
[5] *De Divinis Lectionibus*, cap. 23.
[6] Berger, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

century copy of the Gospels[1] and part of a tenth-century bilingual Psalter[2]. The learned editor of the former emphasizes the striking similarity between these fragments and the *Codex Sangallensis* and the *Codex Boernianus* and he concludes that all these manuscripts have a common origin[3].

There were other links between St Gall and centres of Greek scholarship, although we have only indirect evidence of their existence. Some St Gall manuscripts, in which there is no trace of Irish workmanship, contain miniatures that can only have been derived from Byzantine models[4]. Whether the Greek manuscripts in question were actually studied and imitated in the St Gall scriptorium, or whether the Byzantine influence proceeded from some intermediate source, is a problem that is extremely difficult of solution.

In the St Gall library there is a very interesting manuscript of the tenth century, entitled *Dosithei Magistri Ars τεχνη Grammatica γραμματικη*[5]. This is the Grammar of Dositheus, to which author, as we have seen, Notker Balbulus refers. The Latin text is translated literally into Greek, and exercises are added for translation from Greek into Latin and *vice versa*. Evidently the book was used for teaching Greek in the school. It is bound together with a work on astrology and as the latter only is mentioned in the oldest catalogue, Scherrer concludes that the Dositheus came to St Gall after Hartmuot's time[6]. The earliest known reference to it is in the catalogue of 1461. Böcking asserts that the Dositheus was not written at St Gall, but in France[7]; on the other hand Krumbacher considers it almost certain that the *Ars Grammatica* was copied in the St Gall scriptorium, and he shows its precise relationship to Dositheus manuscripts in Munich, Leyden, and the British Museum[8].

[1] No. 18. *Vide Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de la Suisse*, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1886, p. 441. Printed by F. C. Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, III, 291–8.

[2] No. 1395, pp. 330–361. [3] Tischendorf, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxxix–xl.

[4] Landsberger, *Das Folchart Psalter*, pp. 38, 39, 46, n. 3. [5] Codex 902.

[6] *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 316. Text in Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, VII, 376. [7] *Dosithei Interpretamentorum Lib.* III, ix–xiv.

[8] *Sitzungsbericht der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 1883, Phil.-Hist. Classe, Heft 3, p. 199. G. Meier confuses the London manuscript (Harleian 5842) with Haarlem, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 106, n. 3.

After the close of Salomo's brilliant reign (890–920), Hellenistic studies at St Gall seem to have come to an end. However we must not forget the oft-told story of how Ekkehard II took young Burkhard to the Duchess Hadwig in order that she might teach him Greek[1]. Notker Labeo's knowledge of the language was very limited. In his translation of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, he came across a quotation from Homer:

Ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὣς πάντ' ἀγορεῦσαι[2].

He transcribes it in Latin characters thus:

Argalthon deme tauta theonos pant agopun

and translates it:

Ter máhtigo gót téta îo in uuerlte, al daz er uuolta. (Almighty God ever did in the world everything that He would[3].)

Nor had Notker's pupil, Ekkehard IV, any very close acquaintance with the language. He contents himself with occasionally using and explaining a Greek word or a short passage of prose or verse[4].

In a transcription of the Greek Symbol (or creed) in Latin characters, the vowels η, $\epsilon\iota$, and $o\iota$ are all reproduced by *i*, which shows that they were all pronounced *ī* at St Gall[5]. This itacistic pronunciation, as opposed to the etacism of classical antiquity, proves that the teaching of Greek at St Gall was not a continuation of the pure classical tradition, but was influenced by Byzantine scholarship. In other words this pronunciation was not imported from Ireland, but from Italy, or from Constantinople by way of Italy, although the teachers themselves were mostly Irishmen.

Hebrew was studied even less than Greek. There is no evidence to support the statement that Abbot Hartmuot knew it. He presented the *Psalterium juxta Hebræos*[6] to the library, but this simply means St Jerome's translation. The same remark

[1] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 323, n. 1082, p. 344.
[2] *Iliad*, XII, 176.
[3] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 110; cf. P. T. Hoffmann, *Der mittelalterliche Mensch*, p. 318, n. 10.
[4] See the examples in Ernst Dümmler, *Ekkehard IV*, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), p. 22 and n. 2.
[5] G. Meier, p. 105.
[6] Codex 19.

applies to the *Hebrew Psalter* of Bishop Salomo[1]. Only the alphabet was learnt in the school. The letters were regarded as mysterious, unintelligible symbols, or as a secret code. Gabriel Meier suggests that a pupil wrote the Hebrew alphabet in his *Donatus* when the teacher was not looking[2]. This does not seem very likely. In the manuscript to which he refers[3], four alphabets, purporting to be the Hebrew, Greek, Scythian, and Norman, are carefully and neatly written with explanatory rubrics and monograms. One would imagine that they were written openly and deliberately, as a kind of literary curiosity, by a monk who was proud of his learning. Moreover the Hebrew alphabet is also found in another copy of *Donatus*[4], which almost excludes the possibility that it was the work of an irresponsible boy.

In ancient Rome Rhetoric was the first of the liberal arts in order of dignity; in Gaul the Schools of Rhetoric survived the fall of the Empire. But within the walls of mediæval monasteries, where silence was prized more highly than speech, the art of the orator was felt to be unnecessary, if not positively dangerous. Isidore of Seville declared that the word of God did not need the verbal display of the rhetorician[5]. A few generalities based on the theoretic treatises of classical writers formed the stock-in-trade of the mediæval teacher. It was generally considered sufficient to be acquainted with the terminology of Rhetoric, to be able to distinguish the three kinds of eloquence, to have some idea what was meant by *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*, to know the six parts of an oration, and so on.

The greatest authority was Cicero, whose sway was unchallenged. His *De Inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were the usual text-books. They were both used in the school of St Gall: Walther of Speier mentions *De Inventione* in his list[6], and there are two copies of it in the conventual library[7]; one of them is bound together with the spurious *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and the whole manuscript is copiously glossed.

[1] Now at Bamberg.
[2] *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 108.
[3] Codex 876, p. 278, sæc. VIII/IX.
[4] Codex 877, p. 288 (wrongly numbered 188), sæc. IX.
[5] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens*, p. 115, n. 3.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 117, n. 3.
[7] Nos. 820, 852.

Quintilian was also read: at Zürich there is a ninth century manuscript of the *Institutio Oratoria* written at St Gall, and apparently seen there by Mabillon[1]. Another copy, also a product of the St Gall scriptorium, is now preserved at Florence: either this or the Zürich Quintilian was the manuscript discovered by the humanist Poggio Bracciolini in 1417[2]. A codex in the Vadiana[3], dating from the tenth century, contains two very rare rhetorical treatises by Boethius, bound together with the poems of Horace. It belonged to Vadianus and doubtless came from the Abbey.

Notker Labeo compiled a text-book of Rhetoric, which principally consists of excerpts from Boethius[4], and in the Zürich library[5] there is a similar compendium in dialogue form. It is entitled *De Materia Artis Rhetoricæ*, and was written at St Gall[6] in the eleventh century.

In the schools of the ninth and tenth centuries Rhetoric acquired a new meaning. It came to be applied to the *dictamen prosaicum* or free composition in prose. It was the art of writing letters or legal documents according to a definite plan, and in imitation of stereotyped models. The terms *exordium*, *narratio*, and *conclusio* became technical terms of epistolary style. *Formulæ* or collections of model letters and charters came into use. Two such compilations bear the names of Iso and Ruadpert[7]; but of all those made at St Gall the best and most complete is the *Collectio Sangallensis*[8] or *Formelbuch Salomos*, which was written at the time of Abbot Salomo (890–920), probably by Notker Balbulus[9], and contains no less than forty-seven different specimens: charters of various kinds; letters, some imaginary, others genuine, to high ecclesiastical dignities, to the king, etc.

[1] G. Meier, p. 108.

[2] *Vide* Pauly, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, VI i, 374–5 (Stuttgart, 1852).

[3] No. 312.

[4] Printed from three MSS. by Piper, I, 623–684.

[5] No. 121.

[6] G. Meier, *loc. cit.*; Wackernagel, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, IV, 463 (1858).

[7] For Ruadpert *v.* Bächthold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, pp. 74–5.

[8] Printed in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Legum Sectio V, Formulæ*, pp. 390–433.

[9] *Vide* Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Ævi*, 2nd ed., II, 995.

It is instructive to note how these letters are composed. We may take as an illustration the *Epistola ad Episcopum de Strazpurc*[1]. The first sentence runs: "To N., the most beloved father and most praiseworthy Pontiff of Strassburg, N., the humble Bishop of the city of Constance": this is the *salutatio*, or preliminary words of greeting. Next comes the *captatio benevolentiæ*, in which the writer endeavours to create a favourable impression: "May your Lordship deign to know that our Lord the King Charles has thought fit to send my humble self to the monastery of Luxeuil." Here we have also the *narratio*, the description of the matter in hand. What follows is the *petitio*: "Wherefore I request your bounty to arrange that in Ruffach, a township in your dominions, a night's lodging and other needful things should be granted to me, likewise quarters and everything requisite for my attendants; for you doubtless know that whatever you deign to ask of my unworthy person will be accomplished without delay. And if at any time you should chance to arrive in our neighbourhood, know that I should hasten to do you service." Then we have the *conclusio*: "We commend your Holiness and the flock entrusted to you in continuous prayer to God, and we humbly implore you to grant this request for the sake of the church committed to our care and on account of our infirmity. *Valete*."

The *Formulæ* contained, besides model letters, specimens of charters. In every monastery of importance the scribes who copied manuscripts had also to draw up and sign deeds of gift and transfer of property. It was desirable that the men who made out these documents should have some legal knowledge. Moreover, in many conventual schools boys were trained as clerks or scribes for the chanceries of the Emperor, or of the various temporal and spiritual princes and nobles.

Thus Roman Law found its way into the Trivium. In Alcuin's compendium of Rhetoric, of which there are no less than six copies at St Gall to-day[2], forensic eloquence is treated in much greater detail than the other branches of the orator's art. In some monastic schools the study of Rhetoric was largely confined to the writing of prose passages on a given theme and the reading of legal works.

[1] No. 33, p. 417. [2] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 550.

The study of jurisprudence was valuable for those scribes who had to transact legal or official business, but it was also a useful adjunct to the education of a young nobleman. Ulrich von Ebersberg, a Bavarian count who died in 1029, complained in his old age of the ignorance of young men.

"When the Romans governed the world," he said, "the letter of the law was so rigorously watched over that no one escaped unpunished who hindered its execution. And after the German Empire had been separated from the Romans, if any man of power and high birth could not read the laws which Sigibert, Theoderic, and later Charlemagne enacted, it was considered a disgrace, as I and my contemporaries, who studied law, can testify. But in these days parents neglect to have their sons instructed in jurisprudence[1]."

In the ninth and tenth centuries many conventual schools had collections of laws; few were so well equipped as that of St Gall. The large number of legal manuscripts preserved in the library to-day shows that the subject received careful attention: there are copies of the *Leges Barbarorum*, collections of Canon Law, of Capitularies and Edicts. One manuscript is marked "ad scolam" in the margin[2].

Dialectic, "the art of making enquiries, of defining ideas, and of conducting discussions in order to distinguish the true from the false[3]," was much more highly esteemed in the Middle Ages than Rhetoric. Rabanus Maurus calls it "disciplina disciplinarum"; with its aid scholars are enabled to penetrate the wiles of heretics and to refute their dangerous sophisms. The Grammarians had claimed the power of expounding the threefold sense of the Scriptures; from the twelfth century onwards Dialectic was applied to the same purpose and finally it ousted Grammar from its pride of place as the chief of the liberal arts[4].

The standard of teaching at St Gall was not very high. With the exception of two short treatises by Notker IV, *De Definitione*[5]

[1] *Chronicon Eberspergense* in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, xx, 14; cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 118. It was Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg, and not the Count of Ebersberg, who studied at St Gall, *vide Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxxix, 215.

[2] Weidmann, p. 388.

[3] Alcuin, *De Dialectica*, ed. Frobenius, II, i, 335, quoted by Specht, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[4] Specht, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[5] MS. in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, Cod. 275, fo. 92 *a*; printed in Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler*, II, 407–8.

and *De Partibus Logicæ*[1] there are no original works on Dialectic written by the monks themselves, but the most learned among them were familiar with the existing literature on the subject. They used the compendia of Boethius, Porphyrius, and Alcuin. The philosophical portions in the *Glossarium Salomonis* are nearly all taken from Isidore. There is also an anonymous text-book of Dialectic[2] in the library: it was written in the tenth century and consists of four leaves only. The subject-matter is based on Pseudo-Augustine, Martianus Capella, Apuleius, and Victorinus. In a ninth-century manuscript of the *Periermeniæ* of Apuleius[3], forty-two hexameters on the Categories are added: they were evidently intended to be committed to memory[4]. If we wish to survey the course of instruction at St Gall, all that we need to do is to study Alcuin's compendium and compare it with Walther von Speier's account of his own education[5].

Aristotle's name was often mentioned in the Abbey, but his writings were only read in Boethius' translation, and among them only the *Categories* and *De Interpretatione* were known[6], together with Porphyrius' *Isagoge*, an introduction to Aristotle's *Categories* and one of the most popular text-books of logic in the Middle Ages. We gather from a remark made by Rabanus Maurus that at Fulda disputations, doubtless of a theological character, formed part of the course of Dialectic[7]. Whether this was the case at St Gall is uncertain.

Under Notker Labeo the study of logic received a much more thorough treatment than had ever been the case before in the Abbey. Notker added nothing to the traditional material, but he treated it in a way of his own[8].

The Quadrivium, which consisted of the four mathematical disciplines: Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy, was a much more arduous path than the Trivium, but it was of vital

[1] MSS. in Zürich, No. 121 and St Gall, Nos. 111, 242; printed in Piper, I, 591–5.
[2] No. 820, pp. 51–60.
[3] No. 64.
[4] G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 111.
[5] Specht, p. 124.
[6] *Vide* Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, II, 46–7.
[7] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens*, p. 125.
[8] Prantl, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

importance. The Capitulary of 789 and numerous local regulations passed by bishops and abbots provided that every priest should be able to calculate the dates of the movable feasts and to make a calendar for the Christian year. These enactments were amply justified by the prevailing ignorance of the clergy. In the early part of Charlemagne's reign Easter had been celebrated at different times in different places and the need for uniformity was evident[1]. Hence from the ninth century onwards a knowledge of arithmetic and of a few simple astronomical rules belonged to the mental property of every self-respecting priest and to the curriculum of every well-conducted conventual school.

Thus it was primarily for practical reasons that mathematics was studied, not for its educational value. However at St Gall the fourfold way led far beyond the indispensable minimum of clerical education. The articles on the Quadrivium in Salomo's *Glossarium* or Encyclopædia are numerous and lengthy[2].

As we have already seen, the first rudiments of arithmetic, i.e. counting and reckoning with the fingers, formed part of elementary instruction. Sums were very rarely done on paper, because the clumsy Latin numbers were ill adapted for this purpose and the Arabian numerals were not known in Germany before the eleventh or twelfth century. The method used in reckoning was very cumbersome. It was no easy task to remember a complicated number, to represent it correctly by means of various movements of the fingers, and to recognize the result obtained. Years of practice were needed. Alcuin shows us how to multiply CCXXXV by IV. He proceeds as follows: four times CC gives DCCC (200, 400, 600, 800). Then XXX is multiplied by four, which produces CXX; total DCCCXX. Then he takes four times V, result XX. This is added to the former total and the result is DCCCXL[3].

The dates of church festivals were calculated by means of tables called the *computus*. Boethius expounded the whole matter in his *Institutio Arithmetica*, a work which was used in the school of St Gall[4]. A large number of *computi* were based on

[1] Specht, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 4.
[2] G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 112.
[3] Specht, *op. cit.*, p. 123. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Boethius, e.g. those of Bede and Rabanus. There are three copies of Bede's Easter tables in the library to-day and over twenty text-books by other scholars[1]. Helperic, a St Gall monk who flourished in the eleventh century, wrote a *computus* for the use of boys. "Not even a layman," he says, "still less a clerk, can afford to neglect this art[2]."

The study of Arithmetic in the Quadrivium included the numerical symbols of the Greeks and Romans, vulgar fractions, and the mystic meaning of numbers. This latter branch of the subject appealed very strongly to Alcuin, who was able to discover some hidden significance in every number mentioned in the Scriptures. Thus three represented the Holy Trinity; seven the days of the week and stages of Creation; twelve symbolized the Apostles, and forty the Fasting in the Wilderness. Forty may be divided up into four times ten. Four refers to time: a day has four parts, morning, noon, evening and night; there are four seasons in the year, four points of the compass. Ten represents the whole universe, consisting as it does of three added to seven: three signifies God, seven means man with his double nature, body and spirit; for the body is fourfold (flesh, blood, bone, and sinew) and the spirit is threefold (soul, heart, and mind)[3].

Geometry was for centuries the Cinderella of the sciences, partly because it had a very limited practical value, and partly because of the lack of good text-books. It was not until Gerbert discovered the *Geometria* of Boethius, which contains extracts from Euclid's *Elements* and explains the measurement of the simplest plane figures, that the serious study of Geometry began in mediæval schools. At the time of Ekkehard IV the five volumes of Boethius' work were known at St Gall[4]; but previous to this it was from the sixth book of Martianus Capella's *Encyclopædia*[5] that the monks derived such meagre knowledge of the subject as they possessed.

Before the eleventh century the study of Geometry proper was purely utilitarian, being applied to fix the hours of prayer by

[1] *Vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 584, *s.v. Computus ecclesiasticus*.
[2] Pez, *Thes. Anecd.*, II, 2, 222.
[3] Specht, pp. 134–5.
[4] Scherrer, *op. cit.*, p. 281, description of Codex 830, pp. 283–310.
[5] Mentioned by Walther Spirensis, *vide* Specht, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

day and night[1]. As there were, so far as we know, no clocks at St Gall, the time could only be regulated by observation of the sun and the stars. Thus Geometry was inseparable from Astronomy. It was also confused with Geography. Martianus Capella's treatise gives an explanation of the geometrical terminology of the Greeks, but the bulk of it is devoted to a description of the world. In the letter to Salomo, Notker refers to Geometry as the branch of learning that teaches us the situation of countries on the globe[2].

The Middle Ages added very little to the existing knowledge of the world, and relied in the main on the old Roman books on the subject. Such maps as were in use were derived from classical originals. Abbot Hartmuot ordered a map of the world to be made; "subtili opere," with delicate workmanship[3]. Unfortunately this map has disappeared.

With cosmography was combined the study of different races and animals. There are at St Gall numerous German glosses relating to natural history. The chief authority on the subject was Isidore of Seville, who wrote a work in twenty volumes entitled *Origines*; one volume was devoted to man and another to beasts and birds. Rabanus' *De Universo* was but a poor imitation of Isidore, but it was enlarged by the addition of theological matter, and was hence very popular in monastic schools. Another important treatise on zoology was the *Physiologus*, a product of Christian antiquity, which was very often copied and annotated in the Middle Ages. The mystical meaning of the various animals is explained and many moral reflections are added.

Of all the subjects in the Quadrivium none was so important as Music, and there were few mediæval monasteries in which it was cultivated so thoroughly as at St Gall. A good deal of the tuition in this discipline took place before the pupil had crossed the threshold of the Quadrivium. Musical theory, however, was one of the most advanced and difficult of subjects. It was based on the classical tradition as expounded by Pseudo-Augustine, Cassiodorus, Isidore, and more especially by Boethius in his five

[1] G. Meier, p. 112. [2] *Vide ante*, p. 97.
[3] *Ratperti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 30, p. 55.

books *De Musica*[1]. In all these works we find the Pythagorean conception of music as a mathematical science built up on numerical relations. The monks of St Gall contributed not inconsiderably to the literature of mediæval music, as we shall see later[2].

Nor was Astronomy, or as it was generally called, Astrology, neglected at St Gall. The first part of the curriculum was distinctly practical in nature; it dealt with the divisions of time and their measurement, the courses of the sun and moon, eclipses, the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman calendar, the names of the constellations, the signs of the zodiac, the solstices and equinoxes. The higher branches of the subject were studied from classical text-books, e.g. *Phænomena*, a didactic poem by Aratus[3], and Apuleius' treatise on the spheres of Pythagoras[4].

The monks of St Gall drew the constellations, observed astronomical phenomena, such as eclipses, and often recorded them in the monastic chronicles. A curious relic of these studies is a picture of a monk with a telescope[5]. Even the ancients used this instrument, not for the purpose of magnifying, for there were no lenses, but to keep off the side-light[6]. The monk, clearly recognizable as such by his tonsure, is standing on a low footstool, looking through the tube, to which is attached a circle divided into twelve for the measurement of angles. The telescope is fixed on a stand.

A Swiss astronomer informs us that the telescope is a dioptric and the monk is observing the sun at about noon, to see if it has reached the highest point, for the purpose of fixing the equinox, or of fixing the hour of noon. The latter alternative is less probable, because accurate sundials existed for that purpose[7]. It has been objected that sundials also served to fix the equinox, and that to look at the sun with the naked eye is a dangerous experiment. The monk is measuring the height of a star[8].

[1] G. Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 115.
[2] *Vide infra*, pp. 190, 199.
[3] The Latin translation by Germanicus Cæsar in No. 250, pp. 447–522.
[4] No. 902, pp. 69–104. A list of the astronomical literature at St Gall in Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 579.
[5] Codex 18, p. 43; tenth century. [6] G. Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[7] Meyer von Knonau, *Lebensbild des heiligen Notker*, p. 17. An excellent reproduction is given opposite this page. [8] G. Meier, *loc. cit.*

Curiously enough this illustration is all that remains of a ninth-century treatise on astronomy, for it is contained in a *codex rescriptus*. After the original text had been erased, prayers and litanies were written on the manuscript in the thirteenth century, but the drawing was left intact.

Notker Labeo interpolates in his translation of Boethius a passage beginning:

> One can see that (the fact that in the Arctic regions there is day for six months and night for six months) very well on the globe that was recently made at the monastery of St Gall under Abbot Purchard. It has the position of all the nations, and therefore when it is so placed that the northern pole points straight up, then the six northern signs of the zodiac are visible; the six southern ones are hidden[1].

What became of this globe we do not know, but Stumpf in his Swiss Chronicle (1586) relates that he saw at St Gall "some very artistic astronomical charts with the divisions of the constellations and revolution of the heavens most neatly engraved in brass."[2]

The Trivium and Quadrivium constituted a general education in the ninth and tenth centuries. Higher studies could be pursued in medicine and theology. The facilities offered at St Gall for the first of these sciences were unusually good[3]. In the ground-plan the physician's house, the dispensary, and the herb-garden are all marked. Not far away are the hospital with its chapel, and the surgery, where the operation of blood-letting was performed.

Moreover there was quite a good supply of medical works in the library. At the time of Abbot Hartmuot a copy was made of "medicinalis liber unus"; no less than six volumes are mentioned in the oldest catalogue[4]. Grimald must have taken a special interest in the art of healing: Walafrid Strabo dedicated to him a Latin poem entitled *Hortulus*, in which the virtues of medicinal herbs are described. It is also recorded that Grimald presented a medical work to the library[5]. Hippocrates and Galen

[1] Piper, I, 112.
[2] Johann Stumpf, *Schweizer Chronik*, Book v, p. 17.
[3] G. Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17.
[4] *Vita S. Galli*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, p. 89, n. 257.
[5] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, p. 396.

were studied at St Gall, as we see from the presence of a ninth-century manuscript with excerpts from the works of these and other classical authorities[1]. A second manuscript contains a pharmacopœia[2], a third a large number of prescriptions, apparently of Romance origin[3]. Codex 759 has a list of drugs that has evidently been used a good deal.

In the *Necrologium*[4] some St Gall monks are described as "medici." Ekkehard IV praises Iso for his skill in making salves and asserts that his cures were considered miraculous; Iso is said to have healed a blind man with his ointments[5]. The most famous of St Gall physicians was Notker II, surnamed Physicus, whose wonderful cures are referred to in the *Casus*[6]. Some of the Irish monks would seem to have been skilled in medicine, because there is in the library a collection of short treatises on this subject written in an insular hand[7].

Theology was, of course, the highest of all the sciences in the Middle Ages; yet it was in its infancy. The method used was simply that of reading the Bible with the aid of the commentaries written by the Fathers of the Church. Notker, in his letter to Salomo, gave detailed instructions for the study of the Scriptures: "If you wish for glosses, Archbishop Rabanus of Mainz has written them for the whole Bible...The *Pastoral Care* of Gregory you may learn by heart in order to be filled with the knowledge of Holy Writ[8].

Theology was conceived as the art of interpreting the Scriptures in their threefold sense: historic, moral, and mystical. We might take as a concrete example the Old Testament story of Abraham and Isaac on Mount Carmel. This is literally true: the events recorded actually happened. It is also true as an allegory of faith in God and the unhesitating obedience demanded by Him. Finally the story foreshadows the Atonement: God the Father sacrificed His Son for the redemption of mankind.

[1] No. 44. [2] No. 217. [3] No. 751.
[4] Printed in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, XI, 104–5.
[5] *Casus*, cap. 31, p. 124; cf. n. 423.
[6] *Ibid.*, cap. 78, p. 273. [7] No. 761.
[8] G. Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 119. In the ninth century the Library possessed two copies of Gregory's voluminous commentary, *Moralia in Job* (Nos. 206–9, 210) and four of the *Regula Pastoralis* (Nos. 216, 217, 219, 221). The commentaries of Rabanus Maurus were also well represented (Nos. 282–5).

CHAPTER VI

ART

Mediæval painting passed through four successive phases, viz. (i) the illumination of books; (ii) mural paintings; (iii) stained glass windows; (iv) painting on wood or canvas. All of these were well represented at St Gall at the time of the Reformation; but, owing to successive demolitions, the first alone can be studied from existing remains to-day.

The introduction of miniature painting at St Gall was certainly the work of the Irish. The first specimens of book illustration that the Germans saw were those brought to the Continent by Anglo-Saxon or Celtic monks. The Irish illuminators paid special attention to the ornamentation of capital letters. They cultivated this art with great originality and fertility of invention. The initials were decorated with serpents, spirals, and all kinds of fantastic ornaments[1]. Often they almost fill an entire page.

In some respects the Irish artists were very deficient. They were ignorant of perspective and did not know how to shade their drawings. They put down the paint on squares or divisions drawn beforehand, and did not show any knowledge of the art of combining different colours. The faces and bodies, the draperies, chairs and similar objects, are very badly drawn, unreal, and lifeless. They conform to a symmetrical plan, and are purely conventional. There is not the least trace of studies from nature.

There is, however, a branch of art in which the Irish monks excelled, and in which they have scarcely been surpassed, viz. ornamental design. Here convention was not a hindrance but a help. The Irish designs are extraordinary in their delicacy, precision, and richness. The patterns are most intricately planned, and testify to a high degree of artistic skill. The devices in themselves are fairly simple, but they are employed with such patient industry, such marvellous accuracy, and variety of colour and form, that the effect is truly amazing[2].

[1] Classified by Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, p. iv. Cf. also J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 67–8.

[2] Ferdinand Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten*. Cf. also J. O. Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*.

The monasteries founded by St Columban and his disciples were the first centres of Irish art on the Continent. The manuscripts of Luxeuil and Bobbio were destroyed or dispersed, whereas the library of St Gall has weathered all the storms of time. The Irish style was retained longer at the latter place than at Bobbio[1], because St Gall was more secluded and less exposed to foreign influences. The result is that the Abbey Library to-day possesses one of the finest collections of Irish miniatures on the Continent. In addition to innumerable small initials and ornaments in two codices, there are seventeen illuminated pages.

At least fifteen of these pages date from the seventh and eighth centuries. Until our knowledge of the subject is very much ampler than is at present the case, it will not be possible to determine the exact date. Celtic art came into existence in the course of the sixth century, rapidly reached a very high level of excellency and remained almost unchanged for about three hundred years. It was such a conservative style that the attempt to distinguish different periods by the criterion of technique alone has led to meagre results.

The St Gall Library contains the following Irish miniatures[2]:

(1) Codex 51, p. 2: St Matthew.
(2) ,, ,, 3: initial page (LIber generationis ih.).
(3) ,, ,, 6: cruciform page.
(4) ,, ,, 7: initial page (XPI autem generatio sic erat).
(5) ,, ,, 78: St Mark.
(6) ,, ,, 79: initial page (INItium evangelii).
(7) ,, ,, 128: St Luke.
(8) ,, ,, 129: initial page (Quo[n]iam qui).
(9) ,, ,, 208: St John.
(10) ,, ,, 209: initial page (IN Principio erat verbum).
(11) ,, ,, 266: the Crucifixion.
(12) ,, ,, 267: the Last Judgment.
(13) Codex 60, p. 4: St John (probably an imitation).
(14) ,, ,, 5: initial page (IN Principio erat verbum).
(15) Codex 1395, p. 418: St John (?).

[1] *Vide* J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 83–4.

[2] Copies of many of the miniatures and ornaments in these manuscripts are to be seen in the Public Record Office (Record Commission Transcripts, ser. iii, No. 156); but they are bad and are not numbered at all.

(16) Codex 1395, p. 422: cruciform page.
(17) „ „ 426: initial page (Peccavimus Dom*i*ne peccavimus parcun).

It will be seen from the above list that Codex 51 is of exceptional interest, containing as it does no less than six full-page illustrations and six ornamented pages. These miniatures exhibit all the well-known characteristics of Irish art. The figure-drawing is strangely fantastic and grotesque; but some of the designs which form the framework of these pictures and those used in the initial and cruciform pages, are most elaborately and delicately executed. It seems at first sight strange to think that they should be the work of the artists responsible for the figure-drawing.

The framework round the picture of St Matthew is one of the best examples. On the opposite page there are some exquisite initials. The finest thing in the book is in the very middle, No. 3, a small cross on a black background. Although not quite as delicate as the miniatures in the Book of Kells, it is one of the gems of the St Gall Library and perhaps the most beautiful specimen of Old Irish art on the Continent. From our modern point of view it has one fault: it portrays a cross, and hence the enclosing oblong fields should be less prominent, and the cross itself should stand out more sharply. The colours are also a little too glaring and do not offer enough relief. The six initial pages are by the same hand and are works of great beauty. All the resources of Irish art are called into requisition to embellish the first three letters of the Sacred Name in No. 4.

The Biblical illustrations are of unequal artistic value. Those of St Matthew and St Luke[1], though purely conventional, are very well executed. Considerable artistic skill is shown in the arrangement of the different parts, and the general plan. It should be noted that in Keller, St Mark and St John appear to be much inferior to the other Evangelists; this is due to the absence of colour in the reproduction. The originals are quite equal to the other two. Westwood conjectures that St Matthew and St Luke were not drawn by the same hand as St Mark and

[1] Reproduced in Keller, Plates I, III; and (St Luke only) in Schiess, *Geschichte der Stadt St Gallen*, p. 16; St Mark and St John, Keller, Plates II, IV.

St John[1]. A close examination of the miniatures confirms this opinion.

It is rather strange that, while the other three Evangelists are provided with their emblems, St Mark[2] is without his; on the other hand, in the corners of the framework there are the emblems of all four Evangelists in the order:

St John (eagle).	St Matthew (angel).
St Mark (lion).	St Luke (winged calf).

Westwood considers this arrangement unusual. No doubt this is true of miniatures, although there are other examples, e.g. in Lothaire's Gospels[3]. This is, however, the order followed in the Litany of Saints in the *Missale Romanum*. In the ivory tablets attributed to Tuotilo the arrangement of the emblems is:

St John.	St Matthew.
St Luke.	St Mark.

This order is quite logical. The two Apostles have precedence over St Luke and St Mark.

Very likely the page portraying St Mark was meant to contain the figure of Christ and should have stood at the beginning of the Gospels. It is improbable that this figure represents Christ, because the book is the characteristic symbol of the Evangelists, and the illustration immediately precedes the Gospel of St Mark[4].

No. 11 (the Crucifixion) bears a close resemblance to a miniature in the Cambridge Psalter[5]. An interesting feature of No. 11 is that the stream of blood from Christ's side flows towards Longinus' eyes[6], in accordance with the mediæval tradition that he was cured of ophthalmia and converted by a drop of blood spurting from the wound.

No. 12 is described by Westwood as "Glorification of the

[1] *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts*, p. 65.
[2] Reproduced in Westwood, *op. cit.*, Plate XXVI.
[3] Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 266; reproduced in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 354.
[4] *Vide* Westwood, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[5] Westwood, *Facsimiles*, Plate XXX; cf. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 84–5.
[6] This is perhaps the earliest existing example, *vide* Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstaltertümer*, p. 517.

Saviour," but this is unlikely. The angels blowing trumpets, Christ with the cross under His arm, raising His right hand in benediction and holding a book in His left, are all motives relating to the Last Judgment. Keller interprets it in this way, and so does the St Gall local tradition. The figures below are thought to represent the twelve Apostles looking up to Christ. Each has a book in his hand[1].

It is instructive to compare this picture with the famous Reichenau wall-painting dealing with the same subject[2]. In the latter there are five divisions: in the centre Christ is seen enthroned as Judge; below are the twelve Apostles, ten of whom have books, arranged in groups of six on both sides of Christ: in the lowest part of the painting the dead are seen rising from their graves. Either the stage of evolution reached by the St Gall miniature is a type including Christ and the Apostles only, the dead being added in a later stage; or it is based on some larger pictorial representation, and the lower division was omitted through lack of space.

Codex 60 is the Gospel of St John. As frontispiece there is the figure of the Evangelist, drawn in a very primitive manner. The marginal decorations are somewhat in the Irish style, but are distinctly poor. The colours used are purple, red and yellow. The shape of the head has a slight resemblance to that of the Evangelist in the Irish Gospels of Thomas in the Capitular Library at Treves[3], but the characteristic symmetry and ornamental treatment of features is wanting. Keller was wrong in supposing that it is a product of Celtic art in its declining stages, because specimens of much later date than this show little signs of decadence. It is not a genuine Irish miniature at all, but the work of a clumsy imitator. The ornamental title-page, *IN Principio erat verbum*, which follows this barbarous production is of much greater interest. It has spirals, interlaced ribbons, and zoomorphic heads of careful workmanship. It seems as if

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 532. Reproduced in Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, 251, Plate No. 313.

[2] Reproduced in Dehio, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Plate No. 360.

[3] Westwood, *Facsimiles*, Plate xx. The Treves Gospels are ascribed to the St Gall school by some historians of art, e.g. by G. F. Waagen, in his *Handbuch der deutschen und niederdeutschen Malerschulen*, p. 6.

this page had been left unfinished and some portions[1] were completed by the untrained illuminator who is responsible for the picture of St John. His pigments are different from those of the unknown Irish artist, and are very carelessly applied. For the heads of the symbolic eagle and the two finials at the sides of the Evangelist he found his models in the initial page opposite. Here also he found the interlaced ribbons and red dots, but he wisely refrained from imitating the spirals. The face of the Evangelist seems to be copied from a Continental miniature.

In the Book of Fragments, Codex 1395, there are three illuminated pages, two from a lost book of the Gospels, and a third from an Irish penitentiary. First we have St Matthew sitting on a chair and writing: before him is his symbol, an angel. In his descriptive notes at the beginning of the manuscript, Von Arx makes a tentative suggestion that St John was meant, and that he was writing the Apocalypse. In this case the angel would not be the symbol of any particular Evangelist, but that of divine inspiration. However, the best authorities on Celtic illumination agree that this picture represents St Matthew. The hair and nose are seen in profile, but the eyes from the front. The artist has committed the blunder of giving the Evangelist a cruciferous halo, which is the distinguishing mark of divine persons. The ornamentation of the borders is rude. Four pigments were used: scarlet, purple, yellow, and green. The first two are still perfectly bright; the yellow and green seem to have faded a little. Both the style of the miniature and the colours are quite different from those used in Codex 51.

No. 16 is a cruciform page, such as were inserted in Irish copies of the Gospels. The four corners are left unfilled and the page has every appearance of being unfinished. The third single leaf is the commencement of an Irish penitentiary and contains a beautiful initial P which fills up a large part of the page. The text runs "Peccavimus Dom*i*ne peccavimus parcun," an evident error for *parce n*[*os*].

Irish miniature painting on the Continent was an exotic plant that died out with the cessation of Irish missionary activity.

[1] Including the words *erat verbum*, which were not meant to be illuminated at all.

Only skilled craftsmen could execute such marvels of draughtsmanship. The Germans had no indigenous tradition of painting and they did not adopt the foreign style as their own. After St Gall's hermitage had been converted into a Benedictine abbey, its monks looked not so much to the British Isles as to the Merovingian Empire for instruction and aid. Irish manuscripts still found their way to the monastery, but by accident rather than by design. It is more than a coincidence that, with the possible exception of Codex 60, all the Irish manuscripts at St Gall are older than the ninth century.

We may divide the history of early St Gall art into four periods: (i) Irish (613–720); (ii) Merovingian (720–841); (iii) Carolingian (841–900); (iv) Ottonian (900–1030). The dates are, of course, only approximate and the succession was not strictly chronological because of occasional reversions to an earlier type and the cross currents of contending forces. In the second period the Irish teacher yields place to the Rhætian, the Anglo-Saxon, or the Frank. No doubt the breach with the past was not absolute. There were still Scots at St Gall, either as temporary guests or permanent residents. The stream of Irish art had ceased to flow, but the models remained. Moreover, the Merovingian period is essentially one of transition in which many Irish peculiarities were present. Although the impulse came from without it was certainly productive of creative effort.

The St Gall Library, which has such a rich store of Irish manuscripts, is also one of the most important repositories of Merovingian and Carolingian miniatures and drawings. There are a number of illustrated codices dating from the eighth century, and Waagen declared that he knew no other library, that of Munich alone excepted, which possessed so many specimens of ninth and tenth century illumination[1]. It is true that some of the oldest manuscripts were not written at St Gall, and did not arrive there till after the middle of the ninth century, but even these are of great value for historians of palæography and book illustration.

There are initials in Codex 188, which contains the Sermons of Maximus Taurinus in Roman uncials of the seventh century, and

[1] *Nachträge zu Kugler's Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei*, p. 91.

in a Merovingian manuscript[1] dating from the beginning of the eighth century. No. 730 is a seventh or eighth century copy of the *Edictus Rothari*, written by a Lombard scribe in Italy. The first line of every title is adorned with coloured ichthyomorphic capitals[2]. A second portion of the *Leges Barbarorum*, No. 731, written in Italy, in 791[3], is full of initials in the form of fishes, heads, human figures, hands, monograms, birds, and grotesque animals[4]. They are rather clumsily drawn and are tinted with red and yellow transparent washes. Although the execution is primitive enough, a few of them, e.g. a capital S made out of two fighting cocks[5], and an O containing an angel[6], have a certain quaintness and originality. The most important illustration[7] is a crude full-sized sketch of a man on p. 234 with a staff and a writing-tablet, coloured yellow and red. An arch serves as framework and at the foot is the inscription: "Wandalgarius fec. hec." It has sometimes been described as the figure of a king, but there are no insignia of royalty. It may be the scribe's portrait of himself.

Turning to manuscripts written in the eighth century at St Gall, we find initials[8], fishes, hands, and zoomorphic ornaments in No. 225, a volume of Isidore's works. A special interest attaches to No. 70, because we know the name of the scribe, Winithar, and can identify him with a St Gall monk who wrote deeds in 761 and 763[9]. His work consists of a small drawing of Christ between two fishes[10], and painted initials, all of the crudest

[1] No. 214, Dialogues of Gregory the Great. Facsimile in *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie I, Lieferung XVII, Tafel IV.

[2] Reproductions in *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, *Leges*, vol. IV, Plate I (opposite p. xii).

[3] For a description of the manuscript *vide* Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*, I, 349–351.

[4] *Vide* Waagen, *op. cit.* Facsimiles of several initials in Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, 245, No. 306.

[5] Page 242; repeated with slight variations on p. 301.

[6] Page 202.

[7] Reproduced in Mone's *Anzeiger* (1835), Plate IV, No. 2, opposite p. 491; other reproductions in Hattemer, *op. cit.*, Tafel IV.

[8] These are distinctly poor. One is reproduced in Rahn, *Das Psalterium Aureum*, p. 3.

[9] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, I, p. 34 (No. 30), p. 41 (No. 39).

[10] Page 43.

workmanship[1]. In No. 912[2] there is a peculiar drawing of a human figure, in which the flesh portions and upper garments are painted pink, red, and brown. The margin is also coloured. On both sides of the figure are part of a treatise on rhetoric. The level of execution is very low. We find work of a distinctly better quality in the initials and symbols of the Evangelists contained in No. 124. The two initials on p. 8[3], and the emblem of St Matthew on p. 7, have interlaced ribbons in the Irish style. The pigments used closely resemble those of Codex 51.

An examination of these manuscripts reveals the fact that in the eighth century the ornamentation of books proceeded on very much the same lines in Lombardy as north of the Alps. If we extend the field of investigation still further, we discover that in Spain, France, Germany, and Northern Italy the standard of achievement is practically the same and is uniformly low. The rude attempts at adornment that we have been considering are scarcely worthy of the name of art. At the most they are quaint and bizarre.

Figure-drawing is rare and even the initials, which are the staple product of the age, reveal in the main a lamentable poverty of ideas. The scribes aim at decorative effect only, book illustration is beyond their puny strength. They seem to be entirely ignorant of the beautiful miniatures in classical manuscripts and even of the Early Christian artistic tradition. Here we have drawing and painting in their most primitive forms, developing out of the rude workmanship of Visigothic, Frankish, or Lombard metal-work, stone-carving and the like, with here and there a motive of Classical, Celtic, or Oriental origin. This strange, semi-barbarous art lived on in other forms long after it had been superseded in book-illumination, and it found its final expression in the gargoyles and grotesque sculptures of Gothic architecture.

If we exclude the work of the Irish monks, we are compelled to admit that in the Merovingian period the fine arts were in a

[1] From pp. 108 to 130, and 134 to 258 the initials are only drawn in outline and are left uncoloured.

[2] Page 3. Cf. also the uncoloured border on p. 320.

[3] Incipit Primus. This influence is, however, absent in the symbols of the other three Evangelists.

very rudimentary state at St Gall. But when once the new era had dawned, progress was rapid and unchecked. Less than a century after Winithar had tried his prentice hand on painting initials, the most magnificent illuminated manuscripts were being produced in the Abbey. The decisive factor in this development was the revival of art created by Charlemagne's personal influence from the last quarter of the eighth century onwards.

In the absence of a living artistic tradition, Carolingian illuminators looked to older models for their inspiration. From the architecture and mosaics of classical antiquity they borrowed various ornaments, such as leaf-bud, palmette, acanthus, garland and mæander. From Early Christian painting they acquired something of the art of composition and technical details, such as the treatment of drapery. From Byzantine manuscripts they took over the use of gold and silver for initials and ornaments, that of purple for backgrounds, and the conventional framework of the Eusebian Canons[1]. Nor were the Anglo-Saxon and Irish schools without influence on their work. Alcuin had great authority in the Court School and in the Abbey of Tours. There were in his possession many beautiful Northumbrian manuscripts. Quite a number of monastic scriptoria had copies of Celtic or English Gospel Books with miniatures, e.g. those of Fulda, Würzburg, St Denis and Bobbio, probably also Salzburg, Liège, Corbie and Reichenau. It was from this source that Continental craftsmen learnt to paint ornate initial pages in the Gospels, and to utilize grotesque zoomorphic ornaments and geometrical designs. All these heterogeneous elements blended with motives taken from the Merovingian period to form the beginnings of a Frankish national style.

From the point of view of æsthetic evolution, Carolingian painting constituted a real advance on the Irish two-dimensional art, in which even the background was treated as part of a pattern, not as a space, while figure-drawing was eccentric and barbarous. While Frankish illuminators still continued to adorn initials with lavish care, they also strove to portray nature and man, not merely in a conventional manner, but with freedom and originality. The range of subjects was very limited at first:

[1] Cf. Paul Leprieur in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, I, p. 332.

it barely went beyond such themes as Christ, the Evangelists, the Well of Life, and the Creation[1]. But under Charlemagne's successors it was gradually extended until it embraced all the principal events in the Old and New Testaments. Early Carolingian art bears the stamp of brilliant improvisation. Its chief feature is the magnificence of ornament. The figure-drawing is less successful, because the craftsmen were not able to reach the level of their Early Christian models[2].

At the time when Charlemagne's patronage of art was already bringing forth fruit, the Abbey still remained in provincial seclusion. In the middle of the eighth century St Gall had scarcely been inferior to any other centre north of the Alps in the art of illumination. For, if the Merovingian work was poor in quality, there was an unrivalled collection of Irish manuscripts. Now all this was changed; the Abbey had been outstripped by the scriptoria of Tours, Rheims, and Metz[3]. Yet of one thing we may be certain: the Swabian scribes did not relax their diligence. Incessant practice gave them such a degree of technical skill that when better tuition was offered to them, they were able to receive it.

When Abbot Grimald assumed the reins of office in 841, the isolation of St Gall came to an end. Its scriptorium soon became renowned far and wide; for a century and a half it continued to turn out illuminated manuscripts, of which none are without interest, and some are almost unique. Through the instrumentality of the new Abbot, St Gall was definitely linked up with the most important seats of art and learning in the Empire. Grimald was a personal friend of Louis the German. He had been a pupil of Alcuin, who from 796 to 804 was Abbot of Tours. Alcuin's successor and Gozbert established a *confraternitas* between Tours and St Gall[4]; the association with Metz is referred

[1] It is generally supposed that this was due to Charlemagne's attitude towards the cult of images; see Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, pp. 16–18.

[2] Janitschek, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

[3] It is immaterial for our present purpose whether Metz was the seat of the "School of Godescalc or of the Ada Gospels" or merely an offshoot from Rheims (cf. Paul Leprieur in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 336 and Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 99). The debt of the St Gall School to Metz is indisputable, *vide* Landsberger, *Das St Galler Folchart-Psalter*, pp. 35–37.

[4] Between 804 and 806, *Verbrüderungsbuch*, *Mittheilungen*, XIX, 6.

to elsewhere[1]. Grimald was in a position to procure for St Gall the finest models of illumination and the most expert tuition that Europe could provide. Of the thirty-three volumes he presented to the Abbey at least one, a copy of the epistles of Paul[2], is beautifully ornamented.

In his excellent monograph on the *Folchard Psalter*, Dr Landsberger has shown in detail to what extent St Gall is indebted to the great Frankish schools[3]. Without going to the extreme either of exaggerating this dependence[4], or of unduly minimizing it[5], he has made it sufficiently clear that it is impossible to speak of mere imitation; the materials borrowed were treated with considerable originality. Tours, Metz, and possibly Rheims or Corbie were the sources from which St Gall art was enriched; but these schools themselves had their antecedents, and their fame was very largely due to the careful study of Early Christian painting.

The illuminators of the St Gall school never attempted anything quite so ambitious as the Godescalc Gospels or the Bible of Charles the Bald, nor did they achieve the same mastery of figure-drawing as some French manuscripts reveal. But even in this sphere some of their work is surprisingly good[6], and when they confined themselves to their traditional domain of decorative ornament, they produced a large number of miniatures on a fairly even level of artistic attainment.

In the Abbey Library there are over twenty Carolingian illuminated manuscripts[7], none of which is quite without merit. The number must have been much greater originally. There are at present four illuminated Psalters; the Abbey once possessed thirteen[8]. There are many St Gall manuscripts with miniatures in other libraries. There are three at Zürich, one at Berne, one at Aix-la-Chapelle, others at Vienna, Munich, Einsiedeln and Mühlhausen[9].

[1] *Vide infra*, pp. 167–8.
[2] No. 83. *Vide* Weidmann, p. 7.
[3] *Das St Galler Folchart-Psalter*, p. 15.
[4] As does Leprieur in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 378.
[5] This is the attitude of Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St Gallen*.
[6] E.g. the figure of Christ in No. 877, p. 355.
[7] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, pp. 640–1.
[8] *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 150.
[9] Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15 and 11, n. 1.

Book-illumination passed through three distinct phases at St Gall between 841 and the end of the century; each is associated with the name of a different scribe. For the sake of convenience we may call them Early, Mid, and Late Carolingian, although we must not forget that we are dealing with a distinct species of Carolingian art. Some manuscripts lie outside this scheme of classification. It would appear that several scribes were working simultaneously on slightly different lines.

We may note at the outset the sporadic appearance of the Irish manner[1], e.g. in a large initial in a ninth century *Psalter*[2]; in the *Folchard Psalter*; in an *Evangelarium*[3]. In the famous *Psalterium Aureum*, written after 872, Irish influence is less conspicuous, but it occurs occasionally, e.g. in the double spiral ornaments. Even in the tenth century there are some faint traces of this influence[4]. Beside the exuberant products of the Celtic imagination, the Carolingian style proper manifests a certain sobriety and restraint. Some Irish initial pages are so ornate as to be almost illegible. In the abbacy of Grimald the illuminators of the St Gall school always subordinated the ornament to the initial.

In the Early Carolingian period there is no great variety of ornaments or colours; the same themes are frequently repeated. Gold and silver appear for the first time, but purple is as yet only used for filling letters. The background is left unpainted. The initials are in the main pretentious without ceasing to be clumsy and primitive. Complete freedom has not yet been attained, but the path for further development is opened up and the long hesitation between the Irish and Merovingian styles has ceased. Dr Landsberger calls the manuscripts that belong to this class "the Wolfcoz Group," after the name of the scribe who, about the year 845[5], wrote and painted a *Psalter* and an *Evangelistarium*[6]. Six other manuscripts, all of them Biblical,

[1] The same thing is true of other schools, e.g. Reichenau and Rheims.
[2] No. 15, p. 1. Cf. *Psalterium Aureum*, p. 10.
[3] No. 54. Waagen, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1850, p. 92.
[4] *Vide infra*, p. 143.
[5] Landsberger, 29–30. Rahn, on less cogent grounds, assigns an earlier date, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33–4.
[6] Nos. 20 and 367. Merton, *Die Buchmalerei des* IX. *Jahrhunderts in St Gallen*, pp. 5–7, 12–14, 20–1; reproductions *ibid.*, Tafel I, Nos. 1, 2, Tafel VII.

are the work of the same school[1]. Two of these were written by command of Abbot Grimald[2].

In the next period we find the adornment of initials at its zenith. The *Folchard Psalter*[3] ranks as the most magnificent achievement of the St Gall school in Grimald's abbacy. It was written about 865, at all events before 872[4], and for sheer splendour of ornament it holds the first place among St Gall manuscripts. It contains no less than a hundred and fifty illuminated initials and four full-page capitals.

These initial pages testify to a high degree of artistic skill. The choice of ornament and the combination of colours have not been learnt by rote, but are the result of a refined æsthetic sense. The variety is truly surprising: no two initials in the book are alike. Opposite the full-page initials are leaves with a purple background and the text in gold and silver square capitals of the pure Roman type. The use of the capital instead of the uncial or semi-uncial is typical of the Carolingian Renaissance. We shall return to the figure-drawing of this manuscript later.

The *Folchard Psalter* and other related manuscripts have a well-defined style of their own, which is characterized by the size of the initials, which have outside lines of gold with a thin vermilion rim; the painted background (usually purple); the symmetry of the ornamental parts; and the copious use of gold and silver paint.

Besides the famous *Psalter*, the Folchard Group includes an *Evangelistarium*[5], two *Evangelaria*, one in the Abbey Library[6] and one in the Municipal Library of St Gall[7], two *Lectionaries*[8] and a single leaf of St Mark's Gospel[9] at Zürich; and finally a manuscript at Aix-la-Chapelle[10].

[1] Nos. 27, 77, 79, 81–3. Merton, pp. 14–32 and Tafel II, No. 4.
[2] Nos. 82–3. Weidmann, p. 7.
[3] No. 23. A detailed description in Waagen, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, p. 91, and Landsberger, pp. 3–9. Facsimiles *ibid.*, pp. 5, 13, 15, 18, 19, 26, 43–5, and Merton, Tafel III, No. 5. See also the bibliography in Landsberger, pp. 7–8, n. 1.
[4] It was probably written for St Othmar's Church, which was consecrated in 867, Landsberger, p. 31.
[5] The so-called Gundis-Codex, No. 54. *Vide* Waagen, *op. cit.*, p. 92, Merton, pp. 38–41. [6] No. 50. [7] No. 294.
[8] Nos. c 60 and c 77, described in Merton, pp. 74 and 43–4 respectively.
[9] Staatsarchiv, Sammelmappe von Ferdinand Keller.
[10] Stadtbibliothek, Evangelarium des Dr Wings.

Late Carolingian illumination is represented by the work of Sintram, whose skill as a calligrapher was still common knowledge in the Abbey a century and a half later[1]. Ekkehard informs us that the *Evangelium Longum*, so called because of its unusual shape (sixteen inches by nine and a half), was written by this scribe[2]. After comparing the script with that of a charter signed by Sintram in 885, Dr Chroust pronounced Ekkehard's statement to be correct[3].

Abbot Salomo is said to have painted two initials, an L and a C[4], with his own hands in extreme old age. Dr Chroust asserts that these two letters present features not to be found elsewhere in the book. It must, however, be pointed out that Ekkehard only refers to a current tradition ("ut aiunt") and that in the Middle Ages "fecit" is almost synonymous with "fieri fecit."

Quite a number of stories clustered about this wonderful book, which is one of the most precious possessions of the Abbey Library. It is encased in the beautiful carved ivory tablets attributed to Tuotilo. Ekkehard asserts that they were already in existence when the manuscript was made and were used as a cover. This seems quite likely, because the shape of the book could hardly be explained in any other way.

The *Evangelium Longum* dates from about the year 900[5], but it is not the oldest manuscript in the Sintram style, which first appears in the later part of the *Folchard Psalter*; it has reached a further stage of development in a copy of the *Vitæ S. Galli et Othmari*[6], written and illuminated between 872 and 883[7], and in the first half of the *Psalterium Aureum* (c. 880)[8]. The progress continues in the *Evangelium Longum* and the second half of the *Psalterium Aureum* (c. 910), in which the furthest point is reached.

[1] *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 93–4.

[3] Facsimiles in *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie I, Lieferung XVI, Tafel II.

[4] Evidently those on pp. 7, 11; the latter is reproduced in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, vol. II, Tab. V.

[5] Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 32–3.

[6] Codex 562. Reproductions in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, Vol. II, Tab. II (opposite p. 22), and Landsberger, p. 21.

[7] Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

[8] No. 22. Fully described, with numerous facsimiles, in Rahn, *Psalterium Aureum*. Cf. also Merton, *Die Buchmalerei des* IX. *Jahrhunderts in St Gallen*, pp. 44–60.

Instead of the Roman capitals that are so conspicuous a feature of Mid Carolingian illumination, uncials are now employed; in fact there is a general tendency to use curves in the place of straight lines. The contrast between the letter and the decorative elements, which was so strongly emphasized in the *Folchard Psalter*, now tends to disappear entirely. The form of the initial no longer stands out clearly, but is almost hidden by the wealth of ornament. The change in style also affects the painting. Contrast being no longer needed, the colours are usually restricted to gold, silver, and vermilion[1]. The background is rarely painted[2]. The characteristic symmetry of the older style is no longer to be found. The illuminator's chief aim is to achieve a graceful, flowing effect. The designs often exhibit both imaginative power and delicacy of workmanship. Another feature is the drawings of birds to take the place of initials[3]. This looks at first like a reversion to the Merovingian style, but the craftsmanship is good.

As there are certain evident resemblances between the *Evangelium Longum* and the latter half of the *Psalterium Aureum*, it is possible that they were both the work of Sintram himself[4]. Several St Gall manuscripts now in other libraries are the work of the same school and were written and illuminated in the first half of the tenth century[5]. This applies to Gospel Books at Munich[6] and Einsiedeln[7], an *Evangelistarium* at Mühlhausen[8], and possibly also to a copy of the *Vitæ S. Galli et Othmari* in the library of Wolfenbüttel[9]. The Mühlhausen manuscript has had an interesting history. Bishop Erkanbold (965–991) presented it to the Cathedral of Strassburg, but how it came into his possession is not recorded.

[1] In the second half of the *Psalterium Aureum*, gold and vermilion only are used.

[2] Rahn, *Psalterium Aureum*, p. 49.

[3] Reproduced in Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

[4] Rahn, *Psalterium Aureum*, pp. 49–50; cf. also Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[6] *Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Clm.* 22, 311; Merton, *Die Buchmalerei des* IX. *Jahrhunderts in St Gallen*, pp. 64–8.

[7] *Stiftsbibliothek*, No. 17; Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–4.

[8] *Industrielle Gesellschaft*; Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3.

[9] No. 3095; Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–3.

In the abbacy of Salomo the St Gall school of illuminators reached the climax of its fame. By Salomo's orders a Bible was executed for the Emperor Henry I, who presented it to Bamberg, where it is still preserved[1]. It is dated 909 and we thus have a valuable *point de repère* for fixing the age of other manuscripts, but this only applies to the script. The initials are few in number and devoid of special interest[2].

It was also during Salomo's reign that the magnificent *Psalterium Aureum* was finally completed. The first half of this manuscript[3] is closely related to the early work of the Sintram School. In the interval that elapsed between the illumination of the two parts, a new manner had come into vogue at St Gall, of which the *Evangelium Longum* is an excellent example[4]. It has been suggested that under the incapable Abbot Bernhard (883–890), art and scholarship were allowed to languish[5].

It is interesting to compare the *Psalterium Aureum* with the *Folchard Psalter*. As regards initials the latter is undoubtedly the finest of the two, but while the text is written in black, the *Psalterium Aureum* has letters of gold throughout, whence its name. With one exception[6] none of the initials in the *Folchard Psalter* can be called a failure; there is careful work in all. The great number of fine ornamented letters, which are very varied in colour and shape, make it a most beautiful manuscript. The illuminators of the *Codex Aureus* have acquired facility, but their work is unequal. Some initials are poor; they seem to belong to the experimental stage[7]. There is too much improvisation and a good deal of careless painting; thus between the body of the letters and the outside rim, sometimes a space is left, and sometimes not[8]. At their best, however, these artists are quite comparable with Folchard[9].

In the Merovingian period the St Gall scriptorium did not get

[1] *Dombibliothek*, A I, 14. Cf. also *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 110, n. 384.
[2] Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[3] Up to p. 160. A full description of the manuscript and numerous reproductions in Rahn, *Psalterium Aureum*.
[4] Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 49; cf. Landsberger, *Folchart Psalter*, pp. 27, 33.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[6] Page 184, line 6: a good initial spoilt by an ugly background.
[7] E.g. D p. 40, M p. 119, D p. 125.
[8] E.g. p. 138.
[9] Q p. 99, another p. 171, A p. 272.

beyond a few tentative efforts in the direction of outline drawing, such as clumsy sketches of the human form or of animals; real illustrations do not occur before the Carolingian era. The earliest examples are furnished by the *Wolfcoz Psalter*[1] and a St Gall manuscript at Zürich[2]: the first is in a bad state of preservation, both are too crude. The drawings in the *Folchard Psalter*, though not numerous, deserve our attention.

They are employed to fill the upper part of the arcades enclosing the Litany, which resemble the framework of the Eusebian Canons in Gospel Books. On a green background there are half and full size figures of Christ and eleven Apostles[3]. Next come two scenes from David's life: in the first he is seen receiving a psalter from the hand of a servant; in the second the Ark of the Covenant is seen returning to Jerusalem. The drawing that follows depicts David writing in a book, and eight acolytes or scribes[4]. Finally we have the dedication of the Psalter to Christ by Folchard and Hartmuot.

The latter was Grimald's Dean and successor; he had some skill in illuminating, because it is recorded that he wrote a manuscript containing books of the Old Testament[5]. The two names are also associated with each other in an inscription in another part of the Psalter[6]:

> Hunc præceptoris Hartmoti jussa secutus
> Folchardus studuit rite patrare librum.

The miniatures of the *Folchard Psalter* show such an advance on all previous work done in the St Gall scriptorium that we naturally enquire from what source the new models came. The mention of Hartmuot as Folchard's teacher furnishes us with an important clue. Hartmuot was a pupil of Rabanus Maurus at Fulda, and Rabanus had been trained at Tours. Unfortunately we do not know enough of the school of Fulda to be able to judge to what extent it may have prepared the way for

[1] Page 1, David and his acolytes, Merton, pp. 6–7.
[2] *Zentralbibliothek*, c 12; cf. Merton, p. 4.
[3] *Vide* Rahn, *Psalterium Aureum*, p. 22.
[4] Landsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–6; cf. Merton, *Die Buchmalerei des* IX. *Jahrhunderts in St Gallen*, pp. 36–7. Others explain it as a conventual school, e.g. Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, p. 47.
[5] Codex 81.
[6] Pages 26–7.

Folchard, or even how far Fulda itself was dependent on Tours, Treves, or other centres of illumination. In view of the fact that in the domain of wall-painting it was Reichenau that gave and St Gall that received in Grimald's time, it has often been suggested that the same thing was true of miniature painting. There is good reason to believe that the opposite was the case[1].

In the *Psalterium Aureum* a marked improvement is found. This manuscript owes its fame partly to its initials: three fill an entire page, twenty-eight are of medium size, and there are thirty smaller ones. The earlier examples have the simplicity and sobriety, the strongly defined contours and delicately contrasted colours of the Folchard School. In the later work we find all the characteristics of late Carolingian illumination.

The chief interest of the *Psalterium Aureum* is, however, to be sought in the outline-drawings that illustrate the text[2]. Nine occupy a full page, seven are placed over or beneath the letter-press. They begin with the pictures of David and Jerome, as the author and translator of the Psalms. There follow thirteen scenes from the life of David. The last illustration represents two poets or prophets; according to Merton they are the Psalmists Asaph and Korah.

The miniature of St Jerome has a certain faint resemblance to Irish art in the shape of the head and feet, and the outlines of the dress. The drawings from the life of David show much greater originality. The artist has really observed the life about him. He takes a naïve delight in the war scenes, in the armed warriors and prancing steeds. In spite of the evident defects of these drawings, they have spontaneity, vividness, and force. The illuminator has undoubtedly succeeded in conveying the idea of motion[3]. The figures are drawn in ink and lightly tinted with transparent washes. The use of colours shows a quaint disregard of reality: the horses are red or violet; the human hair purple, green, or vermilion; the walls of a city red and green; Jerome's locks are gold, those of David are silver.

One of the best productions of the period is a picture of Christ in a manuscript containing Donatus and other grammatical

[1] Cf. Landsberger, *Folchart Psalter*, p. 37, notes 3 and 4.
[2] Description and facsimiles in Rahn. [3] E.g. in No. xiii.

works[1]. The painting is limited to the nimbus, which is red, the hair and part of the drapery, which are brown. The drawing is in some sense reminiscent of late classical art. The face is rather weak, but the proportions, the pose, and composition are excellent. Unfortunately this page, like many others in the codex, is discoloured and stained. In another part of the manuscript[2] there is an interlinear gloss in red ink: "Deus adjuva mihi famulo tuo Notkero," from which Waagen rather hastily concludes that Notker Balbulus may have been the artist[3]. The latter was probably the rubricator or corrector; it does not follow that he is responsible for the drawing. There is no evidence that he ever painted manuscripts.

In a copy of the Pauline Epistles[4] there is a freehand drawing representing St Paul derided by Jews and pagans. It is slightly inferior to the picture we have just been discussing. The grouping and composition are faulty, but the face drawing and treatment of the drapery are very good for the period. It has all the appearance of an original spontaneous effort. The same remark applies to a sketch of a warrior in a manuscript of Donatus Minor[5], which is mentioned in the oldest catalogue and was therefore written before 883[6]. The face is conventional and poor, but the pose is free and graceful; the drapery follows the classical tradition. Dr Stettiner inclines to the belief that it was drawn by the artist who illustrated the Berne *Prudentius*[7]. This codex, one of the finest that ever issued from the St Gall scriptorium, is now imperfectly preserved; but originally it contained all Prudentius' poems with some fifty coloured pen-drawings. The illuminated initials, which are of the same type as those of the *Psalterium Aureum*, still further increase the beauty of the manuscript.

The Berne codex was copied between 863 and 883. It was also

[1] No. 877, p. 355 (not 369 as Waagen states).
[2] Page 74 (not 75 as Waagen states).
[3] *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1850, p. 91.
[4] Codex 64, p. 12. Reproduced in R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1905), Tafeln 165–6, No. iii. Cf. also p. 21.
[5] No. 876, p. 282. Reproduced in Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Tafeln 165–6, No. ii.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[7] University Library, Berne, No. 264. Facsimiles in Stettiner (1905 edition), Tafeln 129–164. Cf. *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1895), pp. 90–3.

about this time that the *Astrologia* of Aratus[1] was transcribed at St Gall. Together with the text forty-five neat outline drawings found their way into the manuscript; they depict heavenly bodies and constellations: Sol, Luna, Aquarius, Sagittarius, Centaur, and the like. Before the end of the ninth century a second illustrated copy of the work was added to the St Gall library[2]. A curious Carolingian drawing of a monastic astronomer has been dealt with in an earlier chapter[3].

The painting of miniatures did not escape the general decline of the Abbey after 920. It was not until the end of the century that a new style appeared. The deterioration of technical skill and the impoverishment of the community were not permanent, but they had their effect on the illumination of books. Gold and silver are now sparingly used; when we do come across them they lack the fine polish of the best Carolingian work. Initials are much rarer than in the preceding period, and they are devoid of originality.

There was, however, no lack of *pictores* at St Gall in the tenth century. There was Chunibert who, at the invitation of Duke Bertold, went to Salzburg about the year 945 to teach in the school there; he was presented with the Abbey of Niederaltaich, but the longing for his *alma mater* gave him no rest, so he relinquished his office and returned to the Valley of the Steinach, where we find him again as Dean of the monastery in 962[4]. Ekkehard II and Notker Medicus were renowned for their skill in painting. Yet there are no illuminated manuscripts that can be ascribed to any of these three monks with any degree of confidence.

Was there at this time a school of book-illustration at St Gall? Dr Merton thinks there was and that it specialized in uncoloured pen-drawings[5]. The theory sounds reasonable enough, but it rests on an insecure foundation. Of the examples adduced by Dr Merton three[6] belong not to the tenth century, but to the

[1] No. 902, pp. 69–104. Reproductions in Merton (1912), Tafeln L, LI. Cf. Georg Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*.

[2] No. 250, pp. 447–522. Reproduced in Merton (1912), Tafeln LXII-LXIV.

[3] *Vide supra*, pp. 122–3.

[4] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 91, pp. 333–4, n. 1116; cap. 127, p. 411.

[5] *Die Buchmalerei in St Gallen* (1912), pp. 640–1.

[6] Nos. 18, 64, 250. Cf. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1895), p. 93; Scherrer, pp. 640–1.

ninth, another[1] is at least doubtful. To only one of the manuscripts cited does the hypothesis apply, viz. the St Gall *Prudentius*, Codex 135, which was written in the last half of the tenth century, perhaps about the year 972[2]. One swallow does not make a summer.

However, two other manuscripts might be brought forward in support of the view we are discussing, namely a copy of Lucan's *Pharsalia*[3] and a tenth century Sacramentary[4]. But even if this be admitted, should we be justified in assuming that outline-drawing was the prevailing mode? I think not, as the case of No. 135 will show.

This cannot be the *Prudentius* referred to in the oldest catalogue, because the latter was completed in the ninth century. Yet at the time of Abbot Hartmuot the library already possessed the poems of Prudentius, because the work is mentioned in the catalogue[5]. This copy found its way to Strassburg in 972 and is now at Berne. When faced with the prospect of losing the precious book, the monks of St Gall apparently took steps to provide a substitute, by copying the codex[6]. If this explanation be correct, the illustrations in No. 135 are due to a mere accident.

In the St Gall codex the outlines of the drawings are in black ink; here and there sepia shading is added[7]. Classical reminiscences are much rarer than in the Berne manuscript. Probably the illustrator borrowed motives from traditional religious scenes rather than from an older copy of Prudentius[8]. Although the decorative element is far from equal to that of the Berne codex, some of the drawings in No. 135 are delightful little *tableaux de genre*; the period being that of the artist, not that of the poet.

In Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which was transcribed about the same time as the St Gall *Prudentius*, there are six pen-drawings[9]. The

[1] Leyden, *Codex Perizoni* 17; cf. *Der Psalter Egberts von Trier*, ed. Sauerland and Haseloff, p. 161.
[2] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
[3] No. 863.
[4] No. 342, pp. 277–843. Scherrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–1.
[5] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Scherrer, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[6] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Merton (1912 edition, p. 68) categorically denies that the Berne MS. was written at St Gall; cf. however Landsberger, *Der Folchart Psalter*, p. 18, n. 1.
[7] Facsimiles in Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1905).
[8] Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, p. 100.
[9] No. 863, pp. 47, 77, 78, 230, 234, 270.

first depicts the sea with sirens and land with towers; the second, a naval battle; it is partially tinted with yellow and red. The third, a tower, is not by the same hand as the other two, and is badly drawn. Next comes a drawing of the globe with the three continents. On another page is a globe with the habitable and uninhabitable zones; the latter are painted red. Finally there is a rider with shield and spear, of inferior execution. These illustrations may have been copied from a classical original, but the artist of the first two has evidently observed the life about him.

Let us now turn to the Sacramentary, which Dr Landsberger cautiously places in the second or third quarter of the tenth century[1]. In the margin of the *canon missæ*[2] there is a pen drawing of a priest standing by the altar, which is well executed. On another page[3] there is a sketch of the Crucifixion by the same hand. These drawings are later additions and are entirely Ottonian in character[4], for which reason this sacramentary cannot be adduced in support of Dr Merton's theory. In addition the manuscript contains some beautiful initials. Here we meet with the first beginnings of perspective.

In the days of Hartmuot and Salomo the Abbey had received its models from such great centres as Tours and Metz; in the tenth century this was no longer possible, because in France all progress had been arrested by political disturbances, perhaps also by the Cluniac reform[5]. In Germany, however, a revival of the arts and sciences took place, to which the name of Ottonian Renaissance is given. Nowhere was the re-awakening of æsthetic life more strongly in evidence than in Reichenau. This abbey had long been famous for its wall-paintings; it now became the seat of a new school of book-illumination. From the scriptorium of Reichenau manuscripts were sent to Bavaria, to Treves, even to Rome. Pope Gregory V conferred special privileges on the Swabian abbey in return for a regular supply of liturgical manuscripts[6].

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
[2] P. 287. Reproduced in Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiæ Alemannicæ*, I, 232–7.
[3] P. 281.
[4] Swarzenski, *Reichenauer Malerei und Ornamentik*, p. 392, n. 10.
[5] Cf. Arthur Haseloff in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, I, 2, p. 745.
[6] Deusdedit, *Collectio Canonum*, ed. Pio Martinucci (Venice, 1869), Lib. III, cap. 149, p. 321.

When the revival of the St Gall school came, the latter had been outdistanced by Reichenau, but curiously enough we do not find that dependence on the younger abbey that we should naturally expect. In the past St Gall had been the giver and Reichenau the receiver[1]; in fact the art of Reichenau was largely formed by a blending of two traditions: the style of the *Folchard Psalter* and the *Psalterium Aureum*, and that of the Ada Gospels, intermingled with Byzantine elements. And now, instead of turning to the monks of St Pirminius for instruction, the illuminators of St Gall went to the fountain-head, as it were, and applied to that unknown scriptorium, which had supplied Reichenau with its models[2]. A certain amount of infiltration from Reichenau may have taken place, but it was subordinate to other and more potent influences. The line of demarcation between the two abbeys is still a matter of hypothesis[3]. In this conflict of opinion, personal preferences and prejudices have a good deal of play. The available evidence is scanty and often ambiguous. Hence we find a manuscript ascribed now to one, now to the other scriptorium by different experts[4].

In the new school of miniature-painting which came into being at St Gall towards the end of the tenth century, two distinct styles are apparent, and each may be called by the name of a St Gall illuminator. The most important manuscript of the period is the Antiphonary of Hartker[5], to which we can assign the approximate date of 997[6]. Hartker took a vow to remain within four walls in perpetuity; in 986 he was immured in a tiny cell, where he remained till his death in 1011[7].

[1] Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

[2] I.e. the "School of Godescalc and the Ada Gospels," cf. Merton (1912), pp. 73, 82.

[3] Cf. *Der Psalter Egberts von Trier*, ed. Sauerland and Haseloff, pp. 161, 168. Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 391–5, 483, 485, n. 77, 488.

[4] E.g. the Munich Evangeliarium, Clm. 22,311, which Merton and Landsberger (p. 21) claim for the School of Sintram, while Swarzenski asserts that it was written at Reichenau, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

[5] Nos. 390–1. *Vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 133; Merton (1912), pp. 69–72; *Paléographie Musicale*, Tome I, Série II (1900), pp. 9–45. Facsimiles of whole manuscript *ibid.*, pp. 1–458; and (miniatures only) Merton, *op. cit.*, Plates LXVII-LXX.

[6] W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 34.

[7] *St Galler Todtenbuch und Verbrüderungen*, p. 78; *Annales Sangallenses Majores*, 1011, p. 304.

In the two volumes of his antiphonary motives occur that were almost unknown before, for instance the use of perspective in design, for which, as we have seen, there is only one precedent at St Gall. The antiphonary contains the following miniatures:

(i) Hartker presenting his book to St Gall (No. 390, p. 11).
(ii) St Gregory dictating his hymns to a scribe (p. 13).
(iii) The Last Supper[1] (p. 183).
(iv) Christ washing Peter's feet (p. 186).
(v) The Crucifixion (No. 391, p. 27).
(vi) The Resurrection (p. 33).

Hartker's technique is exceedingly simple. The outlines are drawn either in fine red lines (as the cross, the haloes, the sun and the moon in the Resurrection) or in purple (as the garments in the same picture); in the latter instance purple shading is added. The contours are clear and delicate. The only colours used are transparent washes of red, purple, brown, and green; gold is entirely absent. Hartker leaves the parchment unpainted for the flesh portions, parts of the drapery, and the background —this feature reminds us of the School of Tours; the only exception is in No. (vi), where the tomb reveals the *linteamina* on a purple ground, beneath a round arch supported by classical capitals. The borders are attractive and carefully executed; they recall Roman mosaics. Thanks to the good taste with which they are employed, these simple means are very effective. In the text the initials are drawn in red in outline only, the body of the letters being left uncoloured. A very artistic monogram[2] deserves special attention.

The work of Hartker is to be seen in another St Gall manuscript[3]. It does not bear the name of the recluse, but part of it is in the same hand as Nos. 390 and 391[4]. The codex, which comprises a sacramentary, and other liturgical writings, was written at St Gall and for use in the Abbey[5]. The sacramentary, which the monks of Solesmes place in the second half of the tenth century, has only one miniature, representing the Crucifixion[6].

[1] *Vide* Bergner, *Kirchliche Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, p. 495.
[2] No. 391, p. 34 Angelus Domini.
[3] No. 339.
[4] Chroust, *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie I, Lieferung XVI, Tafeln 3–4.
[5] A full description in *Paléographie Musicale*, I, 71–95.
[6] P. 191. Cf. Waagen, *Nachträge*, p. 92; Rahn, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz*, I, p. 144.

This is in the same style as Hartker's drawings and closely resembles the illustration in No. 391. The only differences, e.g. the absence of the two Mary's in No. 339, are matters of detail. As in Nos. 390–1, the form of the initials[1] is flowing and very ornate, so that they might be termed a further development of Sintram's style.

The St Gall illuminator Gotescalc was a contemporary of Hartker, but his work is entirely different in character. The name occurs in a Gregorian sacramentary (No. 338):

> Sancte pater Galle Cotescalco præmia redde
> Huius opus libri tibi qui patravit honori[2].

It was quite in the line of St Gall tradition for the illuminator to make an inscription of this kind in his book. Folchard wrote a Latin couplet in his Psalter; Hartker added dedicatory lines to the text of his Antiphonary. Gotescalc is not mentioned in any other liturgical manuscripts. He may be the same person as Cotescalch "diaconus et monachus" or Cotescalh the Dean, who are both mentioned in the *Necrologium*[3]. Beyond the fact that the first of these references was written after 956 and both were written before 1078, no further conclusions can be drawn.

There are two other sacramentaries[4] at St Gall that were undoubtedly illuminated by the same artist as No. 338. The close connection between the three manuscripts is shown firstly by the recurrence of the same cycle of pictures (The Crucifixion, Nativity, Ascension, etc.); the only difference being in the degree of completeness. Secondly, all these miniatures are in the same style. A glance at the reproductions in Dr Merton's book will make it clear that the similarity extends even to the smallest details. Some features are common to two manuscripts only, others to all three. Such differences as exist are merely slight variations of the same theme.

[1] A on p. 33, P on p. 189, VD (vere dignum) monogram on p. 190, I on p. 197.

[2] Page 9.

[3] Ed. Dümmler and Wartmann, pp. 81, 97.

[4] Nos. 340–1. Waagen, *Nachträge*, pp. 92–3; Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St Gallen* (1912), pp. 74–6, Plates LXXIII–LXXXII; Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, p. 98. Facsimiles of No. 338 in Chroust, *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie I, Lieferung XVI, Tafeln 8–9.

Gotescalc dedicates his work to St Gall, and with good reason. He is familiar with the masterpieces of his predecessors[1]. Like Folchard he writes whole pages in letters of gold on a purple background, and uses the Roman square capital. Like Hartker he encloses his miniatures in a perspective border. But the distinctive feature about these sacramentaries is the strong Byzantine influence. We see it in the use of new colours: violet, mauve, and reddish brown; in the greenish shading of the flesh portions; the re-introduction of gilt; and in the coats of body colour, as opposed to the thin transparent washes of Carolingian miniatures.

Gotescalc's work varies in its quality. Occasionally it tends to the grotesque, as in the Ascension of No. 340. At its best it is very good, e.g. the Nativity in the same manuscript; here both the composition and the colour-scheme will bear comparison with those of any other contemporary miniatures. The initials, which are numerous and varied, are partly of the kind produced by the Sintram School, and partly reversions to a type to be found in the *Folchard Psalter* and the *Psalterium Aureum*.

It was formerly supposed that the three sacramentaries were written in the late tenth or early eleventh century because of their resemblance to the *Codex Egberti* (977–993), the finest work produced by the School of Reichenau, and the St Gall *Prudentius*[2]. But No. 338 contains the office of St Wiborada, who was canonized in 1047; whence Dr Chroust concludes that it was written after 1047[3]. Nos. 340–1 have the festival of St Remacle: accordingly Dr Merton declares that they cannot be anterior to 1034, in which year Nortpert of Stavelot became Abbot of St Gall[4].

It may be objected that the local veneration of St Wiborada preceded her official canonization by over a century[5], and that between 972 and 1007 a St Gall monk, Notker, was Bishop of Liège, in consequence of which fact St Remacle's feast may have been celebrated at St Gall before the introduction of the Cluniac

[1] Landsberger, *Der St Galler Folchart-Psalter*, p. 40.
[2] Swarzenski, *Reichenauer Malerei und Ornamentik*, p. 392, n. 10.
[3] *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie 1, Lieferung XVI, Tafel 8.
[4] *Die Buchmalerei in St Gallen* (1912), p. 80.
[5] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, 1, 216; Meyer von Knonau in *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 210, n. 725.

reform[1]. The monks of Solesmes place No. 339 in the second half of the tenth century. Dr Swarzenski holds that in No. 341 earlier motives of Carolingian origin are recognizable, whereas in Nos. 338 and 340 they are almost entirely lacking[2].

There are other manuscripts at St Gall which are either the work of Gotescalc or of his school. Of these an antiphonary, No. 376, is very similar to the sacramentaries in style. It contains the following miniatures:

(i) St Gregory (p. 82).
(ii) The Crucifixion, in a very similar style to that of Nos. 338 and 340 (p. 191).
(iii) Christ as Rex Gloriæ in a mandorla (p. 198).
(iv) The Madonna and Child (p. 319).

With the exception of No. (ii), these subjects do not occur in the cycles of Gotescalc's sacramentaries; they were based on other models, which sufficiently accounts for any differences in style or treatment. It is remarkable how many features the four manuscripts have in common. There are the same colours; the same brightly polished gold haloes, coloured backgrounds, and three-dimensional borders; the same beautiful red and gold initials with a green or blue setting. According to Dr Swarzenski[3] No. 376 is very closely related to the St Gall *Prudentius*. It is highly probable that it was illuminated by Gotescalc. Waagen[4] places it at the end of the tenth century.

A volume of episcopal benedictions, No. 398, has one illustration[5] depicting Christ. It is inferior to the fine representation of the Rex Gloriæ in No. 376, and it does not seem to be by the same artist. This manuscript further contains a capital D[6] and text in gold letters on a purple background, and many gold initials carefully drawn. Scherrer[7] conjectured that the codex was copied under Abbot Burkhart (1001–22) and that it was older in style than No. 376 and No. 374, a Lectionary with some initials in Gotescalc's manner.

[1] Cf. Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 314. Notker wrote a life of St Remacle, of which there are two copies at St Gall.
[2] *Loc. cit.* [3] *Reichenauer Malerei und Ornamentik*, p. 392, n. 10.
[4] *Nachträge*, p. 93.
[5] P. 4. Cf. Rahn, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz*, pp. 294, 298. [6] P. 5.
[7] *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 643.

An interesting specimen of Ottonian illumination is a picture of Notker Balbulus on a single leaf now at Zürich[1]. There is every reason to believe that it was taken from a volume of Notker's sequences. It is very doubtful whether it is a real portrait; most pictures of this kind are purely conventional.

There were calligraphers at St Gall as late as the end of the eleventh century. Between 1072 and 1100 the *Vita S. Wiboradæ* was copied and decorated with a fine initial S, which is the last belated vestige of Carolingian art at St Gall[2]. The illumination of the century that follows is characterized by unpretentious simplicity, inferior technique, and a certain striving after realism. The drawing is clumsy; few colours are used, and they are badly combined. There is no attempt at composition; the figures are not grouped, but just thrown together[3].

As examples we may take a twelfth century pen-drawing of St Magnus healing a blind man[4], and two tinted sketches which depict the scribe Luitherus presenting the manuscript to St Gall, and the Nativity[5]. Finally there is a copy of Notker's *Psalter*[6] containing numerous initials, and drawings of the Madonna and David. The manuscript came from Einsiedeln to St Gall in the seventeenth century, but the illustrations were probably copied, along with the text, from a St Gall original of the eleventh century[7]. Even in its decline the once famous scriptorium still continued to influence the immediate neighbourhood.

From the end of the twelfth century the illuminators kept tenaciously to the old traditions and copied as closely as possible the work of their predecessors. Thus a Roman Breviary[8] written apparently for a convent at or near St Gall[9], presents the same characteristics as manuscripts painted two centuries earlier. A copy of Rudolf von Ems' *Weltchronik* dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, now preserved in the Municipal

[1] Full description and facsimile in Meyer von Knonau, *Das Lebensbild des heiligen Notker*, pp. 10–13, Tafel 1.
[2] No. 560.
[3] A list of twelfth century miniatures at St Gall in Scherrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 642–3.
[4] No. 565, p. 242; cf. Rahn, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz*, pp. 301–2.
[5] No. 375, pp. 235–6.
[6] No. 21, pp. 4–5.
[7] Scherrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10.
[8] Codex 402.
[9] Scherrer, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

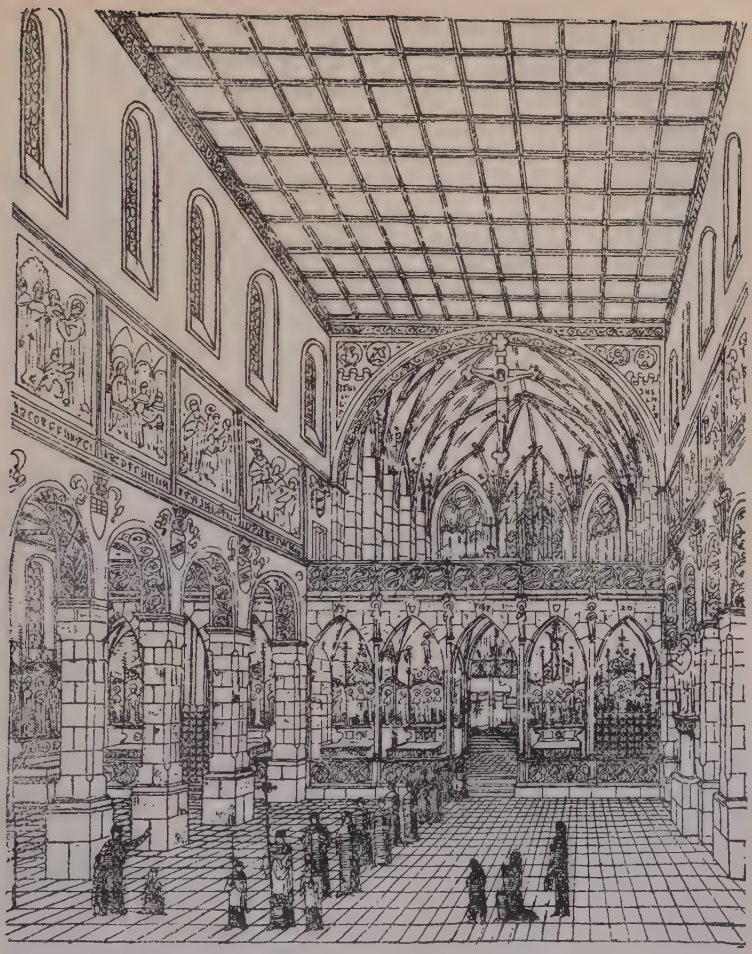
Library of St Gall[1], shows greater originality, but it is not quite certain whether it was written in the monastery.

The invention of printing ultimately brought about the disappearance of this form of art, but miniature-painting still lingered on at St Gall in the sixteenth century. Abbot Francis sent to St Ulrich's, Augsburg, for a scribe and illuminator. The latter was ordered to copy and adorn "right fairly" (vast hüpschlich) the Gradual begun by the monk Fulstich in the St Gall hospital, but left unfinished on account of Fulstich's death. The Augsburg artist also taught two of the younger brethren: Anthonius Vogt and Bastion. Vogt wrote a psalter, a lectionary, antiphonaries, and various other books, but Bastion died of the plague in 1519[2]. The last St Gall illuminator of any importance was the historian and calligrapher Fridolin Sicher, whose *Directorium Perpetuum*, copied for Abbot Francis in 1520, is illustrated with beautiful miniatures[3].

Having now completed our survey of book-illumination at St Gall, we will consider the development of mural painting. Every Romanesque church of any importance had its pictures. Without them a stone basilica was not complete. Their didactic value may be appreciated if we remember that very few laymen could read. The walls of the choir would be painted, sometimes those of the nave also. In the church of Oberzell at Reichenau the pillars, capitals, and arches, the space between the windows and walls, in fact all the available space, was covered with pictures or decorative designs[4].

Mural paintings, like miniatures, were cultivated by the Christian Church as early as the fourth century. From the sixth century onwards there was a Latin school of fresco-painting. In the course of time the art found a centre north of the Alps, at Reichenau, whence it spread to Bavaria[5]. About the year 870 Reichenau artists ornamented the Abbey of St Gall[6]; and, a few

[1] No. 302. Described in Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, p. 172; and (with reproduction) in Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 643.
[2] Fridolin Sicher, *Chronik*, p. 102.
[3] Scherrer, p. 645 (Nos. 533–9).
[4] Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, 143.
[5] Bergner, *Kirchliche Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, pp. 182–3.
[6] "Insula pictores transmiserat Augia clara," *St Gallische Denkmale aus der Karolingischen Zeit*, ed. E. Dümmler, p. 213.



INTERIOR OF THE ABBEY CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

decades later, the former place had become the headquarters of the art in Germany. The style of the Reichenau school was entirely conservative, being a continuation of the classical tradition both in subject-matter and technique. The best existing examples are the Ten Miracles of Christ and the Last Judgment at Oberzell, dating from about 990, and the Twelve Apostles at Goldbach near Überlingen.

Our knowledge of the lengthy St Gall cycles is derived from contemporary descriptions and from the study of the remains at Reichenau. The work was commenced under the general supervision of Hartmuot the Dean, and was continued after his appointment as Abbot. First the eastern apse, behind the altar of St Gall, was decorated with pictures on gold ground[1]. Then, after 872, the walls of the nave and choir, also the "back of the church" (posteriora templi)—whatever that may mean—were painted in the same manner[2].

Ratpert tells us that Hartmuot likewise adorned St Othmar's chapel, which occupied the western choir and apse[3]. From the *tituli*, or verses inscribed under the pictures[4], it appears that the frescoes in St Othmar's chapel represented (i) Wisdom and her attributes; (ii) the Seven Liberal Arts[5], each personified by an historical representative; (iii) the Saints glorifying God. As Vadianus[6] places these *tituli* in the "tempel des closters," it has been thought by some historians of art[7] that the pictures were not in St Othmar's chapel, but in the Abbey Church. But, in the first place, Vadianus frequently refers to St Othmar's as "Gallusmünster[8]," and in any case his evidence carried less weight than that of the Carolingian manuscript from which the *tituli* were printed.

What were the subjects of the pictures in the nave and choir of the Abbey Church? We do not know. Dr Dehio states[9], although without any authority, that on the west wall was the

[1] *Ratperti Casus*, cap. 26, p. 46. [2] *Ibid.*, cap. 29, p. 53.
[3] Cap. 27, p. 49. Does *posteriora templi* mean St Othmar's chapel?
[4] Jodocus Metzler in Canisius, *Thesaurus*, II, 228. *St Gallische Denkmale*, ed. Dümmler, pp. 213–14.
[5] Cf. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, 47.
[6] *Deutsche historische Schriften*, I, p. 358.
[7] E.g. Neuwirth, *Die Bauthätigkeit der alamannischen Kloster*, p. 22.
[8] Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, p. 41. [9] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

Last Judgment; in the choir, the Nativity and childhood of Christ; on the north wall of the nave, the Baptism in Jordan and Christ's miracles in twenty scenes; on the south wall, the Passion.

It would seem that the paintings executed by the Reichenau monks did not survive the fire of 937, because new pictures[1] were made in the reign of Abbot Immo IV (975–984). Notker the Physician is said to have taken part; a century later the decorations of the roof and the door-jambs were pointed out as his work[2]. Over the chancel arch was the inscription:

> Templum quod Gallo Gozbertus struxerat almo
> Hoc abbas Ymmo picturis compsit et auro.

The letters were carved in wood or stone. Ekkehard II filled them with gold[3].

In the abbacy of Burkhard II (1001–22) the renovation of the church was continued[4]. A cycle depicting the life of St Gall was added. Ekkehard IV wrote a series of descriptive distichs[5] which are said to have been written under the paintings for the instruction of the people[6]. It has been objected that Ekkehard's couplets are seventy-three in number and there was no room for so many pictures in the church, but mediæval artists often placed two or three such scenes in one compartment[7].

Abbot Manegold of Mammern (1122–33) restored the mural paintings in the church[8]; he also painted the ceiling with the genealogical tree of Christ and the walls of the school tower with the Last Judgment[9]. Vadianus saw traces of the latter in the sixteenth century[10]. Immo's pictures were destroyed by the fires of 1314 and 1418, and Abbot Ulrich Rösch ordered scenes from the lives of St Gall and St Othmar, together with the coats of arms of his own vassals, to be painted under the windows of

[1] Conradus de Fabaria, *Continuatio Casuum*, p. 10.
[2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, cap. 129, p. 399.
[3] *Ibid.*, cap. 89, p. 318.
[4] Hardegger, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[5] Codex 393, pp. 239–247. Printed by E. Dümmler in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), pp. 34–42.
[6] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 237, n. c. Cf. E. Dümmler, *Ekkehard IV*, pp. 3–4.
[7] Cf. however Von Knonau, *Conradus de Fabaria*, p. 10, n. 34.
[8] Hardegger, *loc. cit.*
[9] *Conradus de Fabaria*, cap. 37, p. 101.
[10] *Deutsche historische Schriften*, I, p. 228.

the nave[1]. Whether this means over the nave arcade or in the aisles is not clear, though the former is more likely. The heraldic work at least was probably new and not a restoration of older paintings. Fridolin Sicher[2], who had himself seen them, tells us that the pictures depicting the life of St Gall were on the side towards the churchyard, i.e. on the north wall of the nave. On the south side, he says, was the life of St Othmar. The roof of the Gothic choir seems to have been painted[3], and there were representations of the Prophets on the organ[4].

In 1529 the Reformers whitewashed over all the pictures in the church and painted Biblical texts on the walls; but on his return in 1531, Abbot Diethelm immediately had the whitewash removed[5]. In the middle of the eighteenth century the mural paintings in the nave shared the fate of the old basilica; those on the choir had disappeared earlier[6].

The third variety of painting was that of stained-glass windows. The manufacture of glass was certainly known at St Gall in the middle of the ninth century. In the *Gesta Caroli Magni*[7] mention is made of "Stracholfus vitrearius, servus Sancti Galli," to whom Louis the Pious is said to have given a suit of clothes. In the same work[8] the St Gall monk Tancho is praised for his skill in metal and glasswork. In Walafrid Strabo's *Vita S. Galli*[9] (c. 840) we read of a certain brother who used to wash the windows of the church[10]. Ekkehard IV relates[11] how the wicked Sindolt pressed his ear to the window of the scriptorium in order to overhear the conversation of the famous trio, Notker Balbulus, Ratpert, and Tuotilo. This implies that the window was not glazed.

No further evidence is forthcoming. There can be little doubt that the Gothic choir begun in 1439 was adorned with stained glass, but in 1679 the old panes were broken and transparent glass inserted[12]. In 1750 the windows of the nave were full of

[1] *Deutsche historische Schriften*, II, p. 376; Kessler, *Sabbata*, II, p. 203.
[2] *Chronik*, ed. Götzinger, p. 203.
[3] Hardegger, *op. cit.*, p. 37. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[5] Kessler, *Sabbata*, p. 203. [6] Hardegger, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.
[7] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, IV, p. 700. [8] P. 660.
[9] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 333.
[10] "Lucernas vitreas in eadem ecclesia."
[11] *Casus*, cap. 36, p. 134. [12] Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, p. 11.

stained glass, which was probably of mediæval date. It is true that there is no explicit mention of stained glass in the nave before the eighteenth century[1], but at the beginning of the sixteenth century St Catherine's Church and even secular buildings, like the Guild House, were richly adorned with painted windows, and it is unlikely that the Abbey Church was inferior to these edifices. Moreover, there are various items relating to gifts of windows in the account-books of Abbot Francis (1504–1529)[2]. The stained glass escaped the fury of the Reformation, but disappeared in the abbacy of Coelestin Gugger (1740–1767).

It is, however, to the vandalism of the Protestants that we must attribute the destruction of all the mediæval paintings on wood and canvas. Abbot Immo (975–984) had an altar decorated with figures of saints[3]. These paintings gradually accumulated; the greatest additions were made in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and consisted principally of Gothic folding altars. Abbot Francis had ten of these made[4].

Great efforts were made to replace the works of art destroyed by the citizens in 1529. In 1598 Abbot Bernhard decorated the church with framed pictures of the Saviour, St Mary, and the Twelve Apostles. They were placed between the clerestory and the nave arcade, and were ten feet high. When the nave was lengthened by two bays in 1626, the need was felt for additional pictures, but these were not added till 1678; they represented St Gall and St Othmar[5].

In the course of the seventeenth century the four altars in the choir screen, the organ, and various altar-pieces in the Abbey Church and in St Othmar's chapel were painted[6]. A good deal of the work was done by a monk from Salem who was at St Gall in 1641[7]. The picture of the *Immaculata*, which is now over the altar of the Mater Dei, was bought at Milan in 1694[8]. It was presumably

[1] Cf. Neuwirth, *Die Bauthätigkeit der alamannischen Klöster*, p. 24.
[2] Hardegger, p. 37.
[3] *Casuum S. Galli Continuatio*, II, cap. 1, in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 150.
[4] Fridolin Sicher, *Chronik*, p. 102. Hardegger, p. 42.
[5] *Vide* also Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, pp. 63–4. Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 151 sqq.
[6] Hardegger, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–1, 24, 27.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 12. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

taken to a place of safety in 1712, like the pictures in the cloisters. The works of art that were not removed were torn and hacked to pieces by the Zurichois and the Bernese[1].

Among the most valuable objects that escaped this fate were the carved ivory book-covers which are preserved in the Library to-day. These are the only surviving specimens of mediæval sculpture at St Gall. The oldest of them is an ivory tablet which seems to be of Italian workmanship. It was originally one half of a diptych, or hinged writing-tablet, such as the Romans used. As these were frequently given as presents, the outside was often richly carved; inside there were waxed surfaces for writing.

Like most Carolingian ivory tablets, this St Gall plaque is used as the back of a book[2]. It consists of four equal divisions carved in the late classical manner. Westwood dates it "third to sixth century." There are figures of men and women, some of them horned. The upper half is supposed to represent a combat between men and Amazons, and the lower one a struggle between four persons. There is also in the Abbey Library an oblong casket[3], the lid of which is formed of filigree work with floral designs, arranged in four compartments of equal size. It is probably of Byzantine origin[4].

The chief interest centres round the ivory tablets attributed to Tuotilo[5]. They form the cover of the famous *Evangelium Longum*[6]. Both tablets are enclosed in a frame of gilded silver with precious stones. One represents Christ with His right hand raised to bless. Around Him, in the four corners, are the figures of the Evangelists seated, with their emblems in the order

eagle	angel
lion	calf.

[1] Hardegger, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[2] Antiphonarium S. Gregorii, Codex 359. A reproduction in South Kensington Museum, *vide* J. O. Westwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum*, pp. 4, 485. Cf. Rahn, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz*, pp. 110 sqq.

[3] Codex 360, *Hymni Sangallenses in Processionibus.*

[4] Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Westwood, p. 485.

[5] A copy in South Kensington Museum, *vide* Westwood, p. 119; figured (lower side only), *ibid.*; Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, Plate 398; (both sides) *Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Heft 24; *Neujahrsblatt des historischen Vereins von St Gallen* (1863), I.

[6] Codex 53.

At the sides are two Cherubim. Above and below the Evangelists are allegorical figures representing the sun and moon, sea and earth.

The second tablet depicts (i) a fight between animals, surrounded by foliage, (ii) the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, (iii) two scenes from the life of St Gall with the inscription: "S. Gallus pan*em* porrigit urso." There is a striking resemblance between the decorative foliage of this tablet and the designs on a small ivory relief which serves as the cover of Codex No. 60[1]. The subject depicted here is lions and panthers attacking a bull and a hind. The upper cover consists of skilfully carved but plain rosettes.

That Tuotilo was an historical personage is an indisputable fact[2]; after his death he was revered as a saint and a chapel in the Abbey Church was named after him[3], from which we may conclude that he was one of the outstanding personalities of his day. The greater part of our knowledge of Tuotilo is derived from Ekkehard's *Casus*; historic truth and legend are doubtless intermingled in this account. But to dismiss Ekkehard's remarks as wholly mythical, as some historians of art are inclined to do[4], is an unwarrantable proceeding.

The substance of Ekkehard's story about the carved ivory is as follows[5]: Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, the friend of Abbot Salomo, set out on a journey to Rome. Not being able to trust his Mainzers, continues Ekkehard, with a slight touch of malice, he confided to him [Salomo] his treasures, instructing him to keep them till his return, and to divide them for the soul's health of them both, should he die on the way. A month had scarcely passed since his departure, when Salomo induced some Italian merchants to announce that his friend was dead, and he began to divide the treasures. He chose from among them two ivory tablets of unusual size and brought them to St Gall.

[1] The Irish Gospel of St John. Cf. Westwood, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Ferdinand Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten*, p. 81; Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 2.

[2] *Vide* Meyer von Knonau, *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 4, n. 16.

[3] Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, pp. 65 sqq.; cf. p. 95, n. 436.

[4] Julius von Schlosser, *Die Künstlerlegende des Tuotilo von St Gallen*; see especially p. 182; Bergner, *Kirchliche Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, pp. 12 sqq.

[5] *Casus*, cap. 22, pp. 87–95.

These tablets had once been covered with wax, like those which Charlemagne, according to the testimony of his biographer, always had beside his bed when he slept. As one of these tablets had, and still has, magnificent carving, but the other showed quite a smooth surface, he gave it to Tuotilo to carve.

The reference to Charlemagne[1] has frequently been taken to mean that the tablets originally belonged to the Emperor. Ekkehard only intended to make a comparison; certainly he expresses himself in a clumsy and ambiguous manner. The story of Hatto's journey to Rome is manifestly apocryphal[2], and it is very doubtful whether the tablets really came from Mainz. We should rather think of Metz, where there was a school of ivory carving[3], or of some place in France or Italy. But the really essential point, viz. that when the tablets came to St Gall one was carved and the other was not, and that Tuotilo was ordered to ornament the latter, sounds quite plausible.

Most authorities agree that at least the three scenes on the lower cover: the Assumption of St Mary[4], St Gall sleeping by the fire, St Gall giving bread to the bear, were executed at the Abbey, and were the work of Tuotilo. At the time when Tuotilo flourished, Salomo was Bishop of Constance and Abbot of St Gall; St Mary was the patron of his cathedral, St Gall of his abbey. But there is great difference of opinion with regard to the rest of the carving, viz. the arabesques on both covers, and the figures on the upper one. The literature on the subject is not inconsiderable; there are two rival theories. According to the first there is not the slightest difference in style between the two plaques; Tuotilo was responsible for them both and Ekkehard's assertion is inaccurate[5]. According to the second there are two distinct styles[6].

[1] "Erant autem tabulæ quondam quidem ad scribendum ceratæ, quas latere lectuli soporantem ponere solitum in vita sua scriptor eius Karolum dixit," *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

[2] Cf. *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 87, n. 288. [3] *Vide* Bergner, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–3.

[4] Cf. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, I, pp. 53, 190.

[5] Rahn, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz*, p. 113; Bode, *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik*, p. 8; Merton, *Die Buchmalerei des* IX. *Jahrhunderts*, p. 97; Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, II, p. 123.

[6] Alwin Schultz in Dohme's *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, pp. 31 sqq.; Lübke, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, p. 53; Mantuani, *Tuotilo und die Elfenbeinschnitzereien am "Evangelium Longum,"* pp. 41–6.

My own view, which is based on a very careful examination of the plaques themselves, is that there *are* differences in workmanship. The scenes from the lives of St Mary and St Gall are not quite as elegant or as delicate as the figures of Christ and the Apostles. Moreover, as Wartmann has ingeniously pointed out[1], the upper cover contains both Christian and pagan symbols, while the arabesques are classical in style. The sculptures on the lower plaque are purely Christian.

It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that the former are the work of a Latin artist, perhaps an Italian, and that the latter were executed by Tuotilo. This supposition will be found to agree on the whole with Ekkehard's statement. But the *Casus* speak of a tablet that was entirely smooth[2]. Were the arabesques already carved and only two-thirds of the surface plain when the tablets came to St Gall? As we have already seen, it has been suggested that the arabesques on the lower plaque, unlike those on the upper one, were copied from the cover of Codex No. 60[3]. In this case Tuotilo carved the whole of the lower cover, and Ekkehard is right. It is noteworthy that even those who attribute both covers of No. 53 to the same artist, differentiate between the two and take it for granted that in the first he followed better models[4].

Various other works of art have been attributed to Tuotilo. In the *Casus*[5] we are told that he executed some carved metalwork at Mainz. Ekkehard, who had himself visited this city[6], informs us that the high altar of the Cathedral had a gold antependium with a representation of Christ enthroned. We find the same subject on the ivory tablet[7], but this does not prove that the latter was carved by Tuotilo: it is just as probable that he used it as his model for the antependium. Ekkehard also informs us[8] that Tuotilo adorned the altar of St Mary in the Abbey

[1] *Neujahrsblatt des historischen Vereins von St Gallen*, 1863, p. 16.
[2] "Altera planitiæ politissima," *loc. cit.*, p. 92.
[3] Mantuani, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Meyer von Knonau, in *Ekkeharti Casus*, pp. 93 sqq., n. 310.
[4] Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Julius von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
[5] Cap. 40, pp. 143–6.
[6] Jos. Kieffer, *Ekkehardi versus ad picturas domus domini Moguntinæ*, p. 3.
[7] Meyer von Knonau, in *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 146, n. 515.
[8] Cap. 22, pp. 90 sqq.

Church, and carved a lectern and a jewelled cross in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

In the sixteenth century the local tradition still associated the altar in St Othmar's Church with Tuotilo's name. Vadianus states that there was a ciborium over the altar in this chapel[1]. It was covered with copper on which Tuotilo had engraved various scenes from the life of St Gall. Vadianus describes the work as "distinct and neat."[2] The Swiss chronicler Stumpf also refers to it:

> Tuotilo was extremely proficient in many fair crafts; above all he was an accomplished Ἀναγλύψος, that is a skilful chiseller in gold, silver, copper, brass, and other metals; furthermore a good painter. In the Library of St Gall some most artistic astronomical tables with the division of the constellations and revolution of the heavens most neatly engraved in brass are still kept; I have never seen more artistic work of the kind. It is reported that he cased St Gall's altar in the old church of St Othmar with copper, and engraved thereon right fairly the life of St Gall[3].

[1] *Deutsche historische Schriften*, ed. Götzinger, I, pp. 169, 185.
[2] "Sauber und urscheidenlich."
[3] *Schweizerchronik*, V, p. 17.

CHAPTER VII

MUSIC

Among his manifold other preoccupations, Charlemagne was very much interested in church music, and made great efforts to improve it in his empire[1]. According to the St Gall tradition, as recorded by Ekkehard in the *Casus*[2], Charlemagne asked Pope Hadrian I to send him two Roman singers to assist him in this work. Accordingly Petrus and Romanus, two pupils of the Roman school, set out on their way to Metz, each taking with him an authentic copy of the *Gregorian Antiphonary*. While they were crossing the Alps, Romanus caught a fever, and it was only with difficulty that he managed to reach the monastery of St Gall, where he was hospitably received. When he had recovered, a messenger came from the Emperor to say that he could remain at St Gall to train the monks in his art.

Thus Romanus began to teach singing according to the Roman method. Thanks to his tuition, the St Gall school soon became famous. Meanwhile Petrus had succeeded equally well at Metz. Each heard of the other's achievements, and a friendly rivalry between the two schools commenced.

This story of Petrus and Romanus rests on no other authority than that of Ekkehard IV, who wrote two hundred years after Charlemagne's time. The name Romanus does not occur in any of the official documents of the monastery[3]. As Professor Meyer von Knonau points out, anyone who wished to invent two names for Roman singers could scarcely have hit upon anything more obvious than Petrus and Romanus. However it is not even necessary to assume that it is a case of pure invention. Since the days of Gregory the Great (591–604), Rome had been the greatest musical centre in the world, and there is nothing impossible in the hypothesis that more than one pupil of the Roman schools of

[1] Meyer von Knonau, in *St Gall Mitteilungen*, xv, p. 169, n. 603.

[2] *St Gall Mitteilungen*, xv, pp. 168 sqq.

[3] The only name that at all resembles it is that of *Romanc* (the exact ending is uncertain), the witness to a deed of the year 759–760. But this was before the time of Hadrian and Charlemagne.

music found his way to Gaul or Germany. "Cantor romanus" could quite easily be taken to mean "Cantor Romanus."[1]

There are many other suspicious circumstances with regard to Ekkehard's story. He asserts that the two singers went by way of the Septimer Pass. This was one of the usual routes from Italy to Rhætia and Swabia, but travellers to Metz would probably take the bridle-path over the St Bernard. Strange to say, the pass is mentioned before Lake Como, which suggests a grave ignorance of geography[2].

We must also consider the discrepancies between the *Casus* and other sources. In the *Vita S. Gregorii* Johannes Diaconus (*fl.* 880) speaks of two Franks sent by Charlemagne to Rome to be trained in singing, and of two Romans who were later despatched to Gaul. The *Additamenta Engolismensia*[3] only mention two singers, both Romans, named Theodorus and Benedictus, who were sent to Metz and Soissons. Notker Balbulus[4] relates a fabulous story about twelve Roman singers who proceeded to the land of the Franks in Pope Stephen's time, and wilfully taught as differently and incorrectly as they could. They were recalled to Rome and punished, after which the Pope asked for two Franks to be educated under his supervision. When they returned, Charlemagne kept one of them with him and the other went to Metz.

We are now in a position to conjecture how the Petrus and Romanus legend arose. Ekkehard had read in Johannes Diaconus[5] about the two Romans sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian. He knew that at the time of Notker Balbulus, Metz and St Gall had been in close touch with each other. He would not unnaturally look upon these two schools as the chief centres of music in Charlemagne's empire. He was acquainted with a MS. which was erroneously supposed to be an authentic copy of Gregory's *Antiphonarium Romanum*; its presence required explanation. His familiarity with the *Monachus Sangallensis*, and its story of the dispute between the Frankish and Roman singers,

[1] For Petrus see P. Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, trans. by Orme and Wyatt, p. 220.

[2] Meyer von Knonau, *loc. cit.* [3] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, I, 170–1.

[4] *Monachus Sangallensis*, cap. 10.

[5] "Ut et Johannes dixit," *Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, p. 168.

would lead him to think that only direct contact with the fountain-head of Gregorian music could account for the fame of St Gall in song. Ekkehard could scarcely have helped assuming that a Roman singer had taught in the Abbey.

We may safely believe that Ekkehard or his informant was in possession of enough data to create a mythical account of the origin of St Gall music without the exercise of much ingenuity[1]. When the legendary elements have been taken away from the story, what remains is substantially true. The residue may be summarized thus: (i) As a result of the efforts of Charlemagne a great revival of music took place in the Carolingian empire. (ii) This movement was due to intercourse with Rome, where the Gregorian tradition was carefully preserved. (iii) The revival began under Hadrian I[2], in whose papacy Charlemagne visited Rome three times (in 774, 781 and 787). (iv) The rise of St Gall as a musical centre was one aspect of this general movement, and was closely related to the rise of Metz.

The first three of these points are proved by a passage in one of Charlemagne's letters, which is generally ascribed to Alcuin, by capitularies and abundant other evidence. The *Vita Alcuini* refers to the school of Metz, and states that Charlemagne founded singing schools in 802[3].

It is, on the whole, not unlikely that Metz was the chief centre of Carolingian music, that a Roman chorister taught there and that the St Gall school was founded from Metz at the beginning of the ninth century. There was certainly a good deal of intercourse between the two places[4]. Numerous sequences in St Gall and Reichenau manuscripts were written in honour of St Stephen, to whom Metz Cathedral was dedicated. Notker wrote four hymns on St Stephen for the Bishop of Metz. The former's letter to Lantpert is contained in a Metz manuscript[5]. It may be

[1] Werner adduces other reasons for rejecting the fable, *Notker's Sequenzen*, pp. 94 sqq. On the whole it is most likely that it is anterior to Ekkehard; *vide* Winterfeld, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 47, p. 395.

[2] This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that even in Pepin's time choristers were sent from Rome to France.

[3] Meyer von Knonau, *loc. cit.*, p. 169, n. 603.

[4] "L'Ecole sangallienne et l'Ecole messine avaient la même tradition," *Paléographie musicale*, x, 177.

[5] Von Winterfeld, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 47, p. 334.

objected that these relations do not go back any further than the middle of the ninth century. But there is unquestionable evidence of a still earlier connection. Two St Gall sequence melodies are called *Metensis major* and *Metensis minor* respectively. The inference is that they both came from Metz. The second of the two, which is fairly short, was originally called simply "Metensis."[1] Ekkehard ascribes it to Petrus of Metz. At all events it is pre-Notkerian and can safely be placed before 850.

One of the most valuable books in the Abbey Library is Codex 359, containing a *Graduale* of the ninth century, with later additions. This is the work referred to by Ekkehard as the authentic copy of the *Gregorian Antiphonary*. He tells us that it was kept by the side of St Peter's altar in the Abbey Church[2]. As it is encased in a beautiful carved ivory cover of classical workmanship, Ekkehard can be excused for thinking that it bore visible testimony to the truth of the Romanus legend. But not only is the *Graduale* itself at least three centuries later than Gregory the Great's time, it also differs very considerably from the so-called *Gregorian Antiphonary* with regard to its contents. It contains a sequence attributed to Notker, which cannot have been written before the second half of the ninth century[3]. The monks of Solesmes fully recognize this, but they do not reject Ekkehard's testimony. They have attempted to prove that another St Gall manuscript (Codex 349) is the authentic *Antiphonary* of Romanus. It was certainly written in Italy[4], but it is not earlier than the tenth century[5], while the mythical Romanus[6] was a contemporary of Pope Hadrian I, who died in 795.

It is not even certain that St Gregory wrote an *Antiphonary*, i.e. a book containing both the text and the melody of the Gregorian chant[7]. It is highly probable that the tunes were handed down by oral tradition and not committed to writing till long afterwards[8]. Then the neumes, a series of conventional signs

[1] Von Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 395. [2] *Casus*, p. 173.
[3] Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St Gallens*, p. 78, n. 6.
[4] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 122.
[5] Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, I, 17.
[6] I find that Bannister has anticipated the phrase ("il mitico Romano," *loc. cit.*, p. xxv). "Pereant qui ante nos nostra dicunt!"
[7] Cf. however *Paléographie musicale*, I, 59.
[8] Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani*, p. xix.

originating perhaps in the Eastern Church[1], were adopted for the purpose of musical notation. By means of accents, commas, and other symbols, the rise and fall of the voice was denoted. It is thought that the pitch was originally defined by the position above or below an imaginary line, just as would be the case with our present system if the notes were retained and the stave removed. In passing from Rome to the North, this arrangement lost its precision; the symbols came to be written in a straight line[2]. Thus the upward or downward movement of the melody was shown, but not the actual interval between one note and the next. Hence the neumes were rather an aid to the memory than a substitute for it.

This form of musical notation did not reach St Gall direct from Rome. Professor Wagner contends that it was introduced by Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks. He speaks of "the unmistakable similarity of the notation in the oldest German plainsong manuscripts and the English. The oldest St Gall manuscripts have the same graceful, well-rounded, delicate neum-forms as the English[3]."

We should be naturally inclined to think of Irish rather than Anglo-Saxon influence in this connection, but we must not forget that Moengal and his friends did not arrive till the middle of the ninth century, some fifty years after the foundation of the St Gall school of music. On the other hand there were many links between the Abbey and Fulda, which was an Anglo-Saxon foundation. At the beginning of the century we find the Anglo-Saxon Eadbeorht at St Gall. Abbot Grimald was a pupil of Alcuin, who was Charlemagne's guide in all matters relating to the liturgy.

By means of the neumes the number of notes and the general movement of the melody were indicated, but there was no way of showing the duration or the intensity of the individual notes. The symbols were moreover too abstract and were liable to be confused. Attempts were made to remove these deficiencies.

Thus the letters of the alphabet were employed at St Gall to illustrate or to complete the meaning of the neumes. For

[1] Bannister, *loc. cit.*, p. xx.
[2] Wagner, in S. Singer, *Die Dichterschule von St Gallen*, p. 14.
[3] *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, p. 221.

example, *i* (*jusum*, *inferius*) meant that the note above which it was written was lower in pitch than the one which preceded; *s* (*sursum*, *susum*) denoted a higher pitch; *c* was an abbreviation of *cito* or *celeriter*, *t* of *trahere* or *tenere*; other letters referred to the expression. Ekkehard IV endeavoured to give this system a respectable parentage by attributing it to Romanus[1]. The monks of Solesmes[2], who uphold the testimony of Ekkehard, call the symbols "lettres romaniennes"; for the sake of convenience this appellation may be retained. A St Gall manuscript[3] has the words written in full: *altius*, *inferius*, *equaliter*, etc. Whether this is a survival of the original system and the abbreviations came later, or whether the single letters were first adopted and later made more intelligible by the substitution of the full word, are difficult questions to answer.

As the Romanian letters also occur in French manuscripts of the ninth century, it is not universally acknowledged that they were invented at St Gall. The matter is complicated by differences in usage. The systems in vogue at Metz and at Laon did not correspond with that of the Swabian Abbey[4]. At St Gall *a* signified *altius*; at Laon it was an abbreviation of *augete*[5]. One at least of the letters, viz. *k* (*klenke*, equivalent to *resonare*), did not originate in a Latin country.

They were not everywhere understood, because Notker Balbulus elucidates them in an epistle to his friend Lantpert, which Ekkehard IV mentions[6], and which is still preserved[7]. This letter does not remove all the difficulties that await solution; it rather adds new problems to the old ones, and doubts have been cast on its genuineness. A Leipzig manuscript of the thirteenth century contains a less complete list which expressly states that *q*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z* have no meaning[8]; all of these five letters are explained in the letter to Lantpert. In Hartker's *Antiphonary* we find combinations of two Romanian letters[9], e.g. *a m* (*altius* + *medio-*

[1] *Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 174: "In ipso (Antiphonario) quoque primus ille literas alphabeti significativas notulis, quibus visum est, aut susum, aut jusum, aut ante, aut retro, assignari excogitavit."
[2] See their excellent account, *op. cit.*, IV, 9–17.
[3] No. 381, pp. 50–144; Schubiger, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[4] Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani*, p. xxiii.
[5] *Paléographie musicale*, X, 200.
[6] *Loc. cit.*
[7] Printed in Schubiger, p. 10.
[8] Bannister, p. xxiv.
[9] *Ibid.*

criter), i.e. slightly higher; *l c* (*levare* + *cito*), i.e. higher and quicker.

Besides the Romanian letters there were various additional symbols used in conjunction with the neumes. The editors of the *Paléographie musicale*[1] refer to them as "signes romaniens," Mr Bannister calls them "episemata." By means of such devices it was possible to express to a certain extent the duration and the intensity of notes, and also peculiarities of phrasing and expression. These refinements of musical notation were used more extensively at St Gall than elsewhere, and there is good reason to believe that in this domain at least the St Gall tradition was better and earlier than that of other scriptoria[2]. Nowhere else was the notation composed of neumes, Romanian letters and signs so long in use as in the South German centres dependent on St Gall, e.g. Bamberg, where it occurs as late as the thirteenth century, at a time when in other countries the Guidonian stave is in use[3].

Apart from the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Vatican, with their enormous but disconnected collections, there are few libraries that are as important as St Gall for the study of neumes. Four of its liturgical codices have been published in their entirety in photographic facsimile; the appearance of a fifth is announced. Hartker, Cotescalc, and Chunibert wrote manuscripts of extreme accuracy and beauty[4]. Their work, together with that of so many nameless scribes, was all produced by one school; it all represents one tradition.

The old view of the evolution of St Gall music was that Romanus was the pioneer and Notker Balbulus his successor. The former composed melodies and invented a system of notation, the latter supplied the text for the tunes and expounded the symbols. It is, however, a remarkable fact that Notker himself never refers to Romanus at all; but, as we shall see shortly, he gives a very different account of his own antecedents. This furnishes us with an additional proof that the St Gall monk Romanus never existed.

[1] *Op. cit.*, IV, 17–24.
[2] Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien* (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1912), II, 225.
[3] Wagner, in S. Singer, *Die Dichterschule von St Gallen*, p. 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 14–15.

Ekkehard's account was undoubtedly inspired by the desire to show that, as early as Charlemagne's reign, the pure Gregorian tradition was introduced into the Abbey. It is significant that Notker, who lived a century and a half before Ekkehard, was fully conscious of the difference between the music of St Gall and that of Rome[1]. Romanus, the founder of the St Gall school, must be relegated to the land of fable, but Professor Wagner has pointed out that there was a famous Byzantine composer of this name, who flourished between 713 and 716 or earlier. Romanus may have lived on in the St Gall tradition, and in the *Casus* he may be the personification of the Greek influence which, according to Professor Wagner, made itself felt at St Gall from the eighth century onwards[2].

Before proceeding with our narrative, we must summarize the development of the St Gall school before the time of Notker. For the sake of convenience, we will place the foundation of the school about the year 800, on the assumption that it was the outcome of Charlemagne's capitularies. In 803 the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle enacted that *all* monasteries should adopt the Gregorian chant[3]; a good many had done so already. From the first obscure beginnings down to 850 is the first phase of St Gall music, which consisted of the introduction of plain-song and its gradual assimilation. There was but little scope for original composition.

The oldest catalogue of the Abbey Library bears eloquent testimony to the efforts made in the cultivation of choral singing in this period, for the Abbey possessed no less than five antiphonaries, two of which are described as old, and twenty-one psalters, of which sixteen were complete and the others abridged[4]. As early as 822 the neighbouring monastery of Reichenau had ten antiphonaries[5]. This makes us wonder whether the school of music at Reichenau was not older than that of St Gall, and at least it shows that the latter did not always hold the unique

[1] *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, cap. 10.
[2] *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, p. 143, n. 1.
[3] Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St Gallens*, p. 25.
[4] "Antiphonarii III et veteres II. Psalteria XVI plena et V excerpta," Weidmann, pp. 384, 392.
[5] Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, p. 9.

position among South German monasteries which Ekkehard arrogated to it. Reichenau was a famous abbey when St Gall was relatively unimportant, and there is no reason to suppose that in the sphere of music the rôles were reversed. When Charles the Bald visited Reichenau in 829 the choir greeted him with a song specially written for the occasion, probably by Walafrid Strabo[1].

There is no indisputable evidence of original composition at St Gall as early as this. The first teacher of music in the Abbey whose name has been recorded is Werinbert, a pupil of Rabanus Maurus at Fulda. He is said to have written hymns in honour of God and of the Saints, but the only source of this information is Trithemius (1462–1516). A contemporary of Werinbert, named Iso, an excellent scholar and a good musician, taught in the inner school from about 840. He was a native of Thurgau; we know the names of both his parents, of his two brothers and of four other kinsmen of his[2]. I mention these details because some Irish scholars would have us believe that he was an Irishman[3].

The real importance of the St Gall school dates from the middle of the ninth century. Music was represented by Ratpert[4], Iso, and the latter's two promising pupils, Notker Balbulus and Tuotilo. Besides Latin hymns, Ratpert wrote *versus*, or processional litanies, e.g. *Ardua spes mundi* and *Rex sanctorum angelorum*. Although he did not invent any new *genre* of musical composition, his *versus* had a considerable vogue and were characteristic of St Gall[5]. During the various processions known to the ritual of that day, for example those of Easter, Palm Sunday, Corpus Christi, or Christmas and that which preceded the mass on Sundays and solemnities, some abbeys, e.g. St Martial, prescribed the singing of hymns. In other places the trope of the introit was used. At St Gall the *versus* were specially composed for such occasions and also for the visits of royal visitors, who were welcomed by the solemn procession of the monks.

[1] Schubiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–9.

[2] Meyer von Knonau, *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 116, n. 400.

[3] For the etymology of the name, which is Teutonic, *vide* Förstenmann, I, 970.

[4] Meyer von Knonau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4–5, n. 16.

[5] Gautier gives an excellent account of them in his *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, pp. 29–31, 199–201. For Ratpert cf. also Schubiger, pp. 36–9.

According to Gautier, "la fameuse litanie de Ratpert *Ardua spes mundi* a été chanté dans toute l'Eglise."[1] The *versus*, which were cultivated by Ratpert and a younger monk named Hartmann[2], had the merit of adorning divine worship without any modification of the traditional text and melody of the liturgy. The processional litanies were not amalgamated with the Gregorian chant, as the tropes were, but just loosely added to it. Among Ratpert's other works was a Communion chant, *Laudes omnipotens*, and a German hymn to St Gall which became extremely popular[3]. Unfortunately it is only preserved in Ekkehard IV's translation:

> Nunc incipiendum est mihi magnum gaudium;
> Sanctiorem nullum quam sanctum unquam Gallum.

With the arrival of Moengal, a new impulse was given to the musical life of the Abbey. He was induced to stay at St Gall because of his conspicuous abilities, of which his skill in music was not the least. Knowing as we do what an important part music played in the ancient history of Ireland, we can well understand what an acquisition he was to the Abbey. It would be interesting to know to what extent Moengal was responsible for innovations, and how far he continued the work of his predecessors on traditional lines. He arrived at St Gall about 850, and from 853 onwards he wrote several manuscripts and deeds, in none of which is there any trace of insular script. He must have acquired the Continental hand after leaving the British Isles. Did he also accept the Gregorian musical traditions? It is important to remember that he had been to Rome and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the Gregorian chant at the place of its origin[4]. If it is true, as some maintain[5], that there are Celtic features in Notker's music, these may be due to his Irish teacher, but it will not be safe to dogmatize about this point until our knowledge of the whole subject is much more complete than is at present the case.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1.
[2] Meyer von Knonau, *loc. cit.*, p. 5, n. 16.
[3] *Vide infra*, p. 240.
[4] Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, p. 221.
[5] O. Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, II, 70–1.

One new departure must be laid to Moengal's credit: the increased care devoted to instrumental music. There is good reason to believe that this branch of the art was cultivated at St Gall before Moengal came; on special occasions the strains of the harp mingled with that of choral song in the Abbey Church[1]. No less than four different instruments were in use at Reichenau in 829: the psalter (nauplium), flute, organum, and cymbals. At this time there were a number of Irish refugees from Iona at Reichenau.

Walafrid Strabo shows an astonishing knowledge of Irish affairs. He wrote a poem on the martyrdom of Diarmuid, twentieth Abbot of Iona; he also knew of the attack of the Northmen in 825, the martyrdom of St Blaithmac, and the spoliation of St Columba's shrine[2]. In short, there was a good deal of Celtic influence at Reichenau in this period, and the knowledge of instrumental music may have been a consequence of it. There can be little doubt that this was Moengal's speciality, as it was that of his pupil Tuotilo[3]. If Moengal wrote any original compositions, they have not come down to us; presumably his work was rather that of a teacher than of a creative artist. But he warmly encouraged Notker Balbulus to continue his first efforts in this direction.

It was Notker who was the greatest of St Gall musicians, and his name is chiefly associated with one form of composition: the sequence. Among the main characteristics of Gregorian music were the melismatic embellishments which occurred from the very first in the "Alleluia" of the gradual, and also in other portions of the mass. In the singing of the word "Alleluia," the vowels, especially the final *a*, were prolonged and varied by the copious use of colorature. Some parts of the mass (e.g. the introit and the communion) are choir chants, and are simple in structure, because they have often to be performed by unskilled singers. The gradual with its Alleluia is a solo chant; the variations were introduced in order to give the *cantor* an opportunity of showing his powers. In the ninth century a similar, though less elaborate, prolongation of vowels took place in the Kyrie, the Gloria, and the Sanctus. These florid passages were known

[1] Schubiger, p. 61. [2] Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lxxxii. [3] Cf. *infra*.

as tropes. To the series or sequence of notes written over the final *a* of the Alleluia, the name of *sequentia* was given. These variations received a symbolic interpretation: the Alleluia is a shout of joy, and the colorature expressed the fullness of joy[1].

The custom arose, probably in the eighth century, of adding words to the melody. In France the text was called "prosa," since it was, at first, non-metrical. In Germany the musical term "sequentia" came to be applied to the words. In time the sequence obtained a unity of its own; it became a new and an important section of the mass. We have seen that the sequence is in its origin a trope; although perhaps the earliest, it is by no means the only form of trope. Other melismatic portions of the mass, for instance in the Gloria and the Kyrie, lent themselves to a similar treatment: the final E of the Kyrie was prolonged and sung to different notes just like the last A of the Alleluia. These melodies were then provided with a prose text. The next step was to write tropes for such passages of the mass as were not originally melismatic, e.g. the introit, offertory, and communion. The tropes here consisted of introductions or interpolations that adorned or elucidated the traditional text[2].

In the following pages we shall use the term *sequence* to denote the proses that developed out of the Alleluia-jubilus; those that were founded on other parts of the mass we shall describe as *tropes*; this being a usual and convenient verbal distinction. Both the sequences and the tropes went through three definite stages of development, viz. (i) non-metrical words set to existing melodies, Gregorian or otherwise; (ii) new words (non-metrical) and new melodies; (iii) metrical words and melodies.

When the sequence first became the object of scientific study and research, it was discovered that many antiphonaries of early date were preserved at St Gall and that the proses attributed to Notker had an extraordinary vogue for several centuries. It was therefore believed that St Gall was the home of the sequence and Notker Balbulus its inventor. This point of view seemed to be supported by excellent documentary evidence. We have the

[1] See the quotations from Cassiodorus, St Jerome, and St Augustine in P. Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–3.

[2] See the excellent account in *Analecta Hymnica*, 47, pp. 5–42.

testimony of Ekkehard IV that Romanus composed the jubili *Romana* and *Amœna*, "which Notker provided with words"; we are then told that the latter himself made the melodies *Frigdora* and *Occidentana*[1]. Still more important is a letter from Notker to Archbishop Liutward of Vercelli[2], to which Dümmler assigned the date 885[3].

Notker relates that when he was a boy he found the protracted melodies (melodiæ longissimæ) of the sequence difficult to remember, and he often tried to set them to words to assist his memory. Then a French monk came to St Gall[4] from the monastery of Jumièges (Gimedia), which had been destroyed by the Normans, bringing with him an antiphonary in which Notker's idea was anticipated: the sequence was provided with a text ("Antiphonarium suum secum deferens, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati"). Instead of drawing out the vowel *a* through a score of notes or more, the choristers were to sing words to the tune, which made it easier to learn the music. However, in Notker's opinion, it was done clumsily and in bad taste; he endeavoured to do better ("sed jam tunc nimium vitiati; quorum ut visu delectatus, ita sum gustu amaricatus. Ad imitationem tamen eorundem cœpi scribere"); and wrote a text for one of the Easter sequences in use at St Gall[5].

He showed the results to his teacher Iso, who commended his efforts, but advised him to make a single syllable correspond to every note of the music. Notker took the good counsel to heart, and after successfully tackling some minor difficulties of technique, presented three sequences to Moengal[6]. The Irish scholar was overjoyed; he set his pupils the task of learning them, and urged the young composer to collect a volume of sequences and dedicate it to some person of eminence. But Notker, with characteristic modesty, could not bring himself to do this, until his brother Othar overcame his objections. He finally composed a

[1] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 47, pp. 172–3.
[2] Printed in Gerbert, *De Cantu*, I, 412–13; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 131, pp. 1003–4; Dümmler, *St Gallische Denkmale*, pp. 223–4.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 259. [4] Probably in 862; *vide* Dümmler, *loc. cit.*
[5] *Laudes Deo concinat orbis ubique totus*; printed in *Analecta Hymnica*, 53, pp. 93–4.
[6] *Christus hunc diem; Congaudent angelorum chori; Psallat ecclesia mater.*

book in honour of Liutward, the Swabian Bishop of Vercelli, who was Chancellor of Charles the Fat. This was in or about the year 885.

What precisely was wrong with the French monk's sequences? Notker's brief remarks are our only guide. From what he says about Iso's advice, we gather that in the Jumièges antiphonary, the principle "One note, one syllable" was not observed. Moreover Notker employs the expression "versus ad sequentias," which is a technical term for texts inserted over some of the middle phrases of the Alleluia neumes[1]. Such a partial and incomplete solution of the difficulty might well strike Notker as clumsy. We have to imagine the earliest and most rudimentary type of sequence. In other words, the Jumièges texts were only composed for one or two divisions of the jubilus, while those of Notker were for the entire melody.

This explanation seems simple enough, but it has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. The learned editors of the *Analecta Hymnica*, who at one time were prepared to accept it[2], feel themselves unable to do so in the light of their present knowledge[3]. They ask how it comes about that none of the oldest St Gall manuscripts, not even those of the ninth century, contain an Alleluia-jubilus that was not written for an existing text. How could the jubilus, which Notker later provided with a text, in order, as we are told, to assist the memory, have disappeared without leaving a trace behind it, even in St Gall, in spite of the fact that so many old antiphonaries are preserved there? This and various other objections are raised against the hypothesis that Notker pushed on from the stage represented by the *versus ad sequentias* to that of the perfected sequence in one bound, as it were, thus accomplishing in a few years what was elsewhere the work of several generations.

There is, however, a second explanation of Notker's dedicatory epistle which attempts to meet these objections. Perhaps the Norman monk had adhered more closely to the rhythmic structure of the jubilus than Notker; for the latter subordinated the

[1] Clemens Blume, in *Analecta Hymnica*, 47, p. 14. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Vol. 53, pp. xiii–xiv. Cf. also Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, p. 222.

rhythm to the words of the text. While retaining the beginning and the end of the traditional tune, he entirely re-modelled the intervening portion, and made a new melody for it. Thus, Notker's Christmas sequence *Grates nunc omnes* commences and closes like the old jubilus as regards the pitch of the notes, although the rhythm has insensibly altered; the central portion, however, is not only much longer, but is altogether different in character from that of the original jubilus. We are told that this is characteristic of Notker's usual method of procedure[1].

The sequences and proses composed by the school of St Gall were the first to receive the attention of scholars. They were found to be plentiful in number, widely diffused, and of respectable antiquity. St Gall seemed to dominate the whole field. The investigations of Blume, Dreves, and Bannister have completely altered the state of affairs. With the publication of the most recent volumes of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Ævi* it became evident that England, France and Italy had produced thousands of sequences. This form of composition was cultivated in France at an early date, and we are told that the development proceeded independently of St Gall. It is asserted that Notker's works belong to a comparatively late stage of evolution, whereas in France all the earlier phases exist[2].

So far-reaching were the effects of this discovery, that doubt has been cast on the genuineness of the *Proœmium*, or dedicatory preface of Notker to Liutward[3]. It is, however, questionable whether enough evidence has been brought forward to justify its rejection. It is contained in manuscripts of the early eleventh century; Notker died in 912. Whoever the writer was, he was exceptionally well informed about Notker. The epistle is addressed to Archbishop Liutward of Vercelli, the Chancellor of the Emperor Charles the Fat, and it has a reference to Salomo, who was later Bishop of Constance and Abbot of St Gall. In the year 885 these two men were both together at the imperial court[4]. Liutward, who died in 900, was a contemporary of Notker; being a Swabian he was also his fellow-countryman. He is said to have

[1] P. Wagner, in S. Singer, *Die Dichterschule St Gallens*, p. 16.
[2] *Analecta Hymnica*, 53, pp. xiv–xix.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
[4] Dümmler, *St Gallische Denkmale*, p. 259.

sent Notker a copy of the canonical Epistles in Greek, which the latter transcribed[1]. Liutward's obit occurs in the St Gall *Necrologium*[2]. Both he and the Emperor several times borrowed books from the St Gall library[3]; in 890 Notker was librarian. In 883 the Emperor visited the Abbey; on which occasion he heard Notker's tales about Charlemagne, and urged the monk to write them down, which he did. There is, therefore, nothing unreasonable in the supposition that Notker dedicated his sequences to the Archbishop[4].

The destruction of the Abbey of Jumièges by the Normans in 862 is an historical fact. The epistle also mentions Othar, Iso and Moengal. There is no difficulty in identifying Notker's brother Othar: he was a wealthy nobleman who lived near St Gall; his name occurs in charters between 896 and 903[5]. Iso and Moengal were both at St Gall between 852 and 860. Thus all the dates fit in admirably. When St Gall monks do indulge in romance they are not so scrupulous about their facts as this. Certainly the *Proœmium* does not look like a forgery.

Not long ago there was a tendency to exaggerate the fame of St Gall musicians. Is there not a danger of minimizing it to-day? The last word on the subject remains to be said. Briefly the present position is this: in France and at St Gall there is a parallel development. Does this mean that the sequence sprang up independently in two places at the same time? Or does it show that borrowing took place? If so, who borrowed? The editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* affirm that France invented, and St Gall imitated. But it cannot be denied that various sequences attributed to Notker very soon found their way to Limoges[6]. Was this an isolated case, and was St Gall content to borrow on every other occasion?

The whole question is one of extreme complexity. The oldest stages of the evolution must be reconstructed by inference, because no liturgical manuscripts with musical notation dating

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 111.
[2] Dümmler, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
[3] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 373, 385.
[4] It is an interesting fact that two eleventh-century manuscripts from Vercelli contain one of Notker's sequences, *Analecta Hymnica*, 53, pp. 163–4.
[5] Cf. H. Bikel, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Klosters St Gallen*, p. 65.
[6] J. Werner, in *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XVIII, 343–350.

from the time concerned are in existence. The exact method by which the jubilus arose out of the Gregorian Alleluia has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Notker's original volume of sequences has been lost. He subsequently added considerably to their number. Later composers wrote new texts to his melodies or imitations of famous sequences. In the oldest existing collections all these are inextricably mixed; all are ascribed to Notker, whether spurious or genuine. The task of sorting them out is almost impracticable.

The first serious attempt to do this was made by Schubiger sixty years ago in his *Sängerschule St Gallens*, which is the standard work on St Gall music, and a book of considerable merit. Naturally it is now quite out of date. From the sequences contained in the best manuscripts, Schubiger first eliminated all those which Notker himself directly or indirectly refers to as his own productions, fourteen in number. Then come those attributed to Notker by his immediate successors to the number of seven. Finally Schubiger added the oldest sequences allotted to all the church festivals on which, in his opinion, it was customary to sing one, since Notker is said to have celebrated all the chief events of the Christian year, with the exception of those on which, for liturgical reasons, no jubilus could be sung.

The objection to this method is that the sequences were additions to the official liturgy; they were kept in separate books, usually called Tropers (troparia), and their number varied. The relative importance of the feast of a given saint was not fixed and constant: it depended on the time no less than on the place. At one time its inclusion would seem essential, at another superfluous. To take a concrete instance: during the period in which relations between St Gall and Reichenau were strained, we should scarcely expect to find St Pirminius highly revered at St Gall, but when the "confraternitas" between the two Abbeys was established, we may be sure that St Gall would introduce the festival of St Pirminius.

Proceeding on these lines, Schubiger arrived at a total of seventy-eight sequences, of which he regarded sixty as certain and eighteen as probably genuine. A great advance was made by

Wilmanns, whose monograph on the subject[1] is a piece of masterly criticism. He revealed the defects of Schubiger's methods, and showed that the latter had been led astray by a remark of Ekkehard's to the effect that Notker wrote fifty melodies. Consciously or unconsciously, Schubiger was guided by the desire to arrive at this number, and he tried to make his seventy-eight texts correspond to fifty melodies. Wilmanns reduced the number of genuine texts to forty-one, and of melodies to thirty-five. He established the principle that no sequence containing rhyme is the work of Notker[2].

The results thus obtained received an unexpected and striking corroboration by the discovery that an Einsiedeln manuscript roughly coincides with the canon drawn up by Wilmanns[3]. The table on pp. 184–5 shows the list of genuine sequences of Notker, as reconstructed by Wilmanns. Beginning with the Christmas sequence *Natus ante secula*, the list follows the order in which the festivals are arranged in the Calendar. The first group only comprises eleven sequences; the most important are those sung on the three immovable feasts relating to the birth of Christ: the Nativity, Circumcision, and Epiphany. This series ends on the Saturday before Septuagesima. On the following day, the clergy and monks begin to fast; no marriages are celebrated; the Alleluia of the mass is silent. On Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, the whole religious consciousness is concentrated on the preparation for the most solemn event of the Christian year. After the Easter festival, gloom yields to joy and once more the strains of the jubilus are heard. The whole time from Easter to Whitsuntide is dominated by this spirit. It is the time of sequences *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Every day in Easter week, every Sunday till Whitsuntide, a sequence was sung.

The St Gall liturgy had four solemnities in honour of the Blessed Virgin: one of these, the Annunciation, was generally in Lent. There remained three on which sequences could be sung, viz. the Purification, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Assumption. Among the saints the only names found attached to jubilus

[1] "Welche Sequenzen hat Notker verfasst," in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 15, pp. 267–294 (1872).
[2] P. 286.
[3] Von Winterfeld, *Neues Archiv*, 25, p. 388. Werner, p. 11.

melodies are those of St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, St John the Baptist, St Peter and St Paul, St Lawrence, St Mauritius, St Gall, St Martin and St Othmar. In each case the reason for inclusion is apparent. St Gall was the patron of the monastery, St Othmar its first abbot. Relics of St Mauritius were brought to the cell by its founder[1]. St Lawrence and St Martin were both very popular saints in Eastern Switzerland. A church was dedicated to St Lawrence in St Gall[2]. St Stephen was the first Christian martyr and one of the most highly revered of the saints: Notker wrote various hymns in his honour. St Peter, St Paul, the Baptist and the Evangelist could not well be omitted. The Holy Innocents were the patrons of the school. Thus we have a compact and well-devised scheme of sequences, an edifice from which not a single stone can be removed without destroying the whole.

The little progress that has been made since the appearance of Wilmanns' article is largely due to the labours of J. Werner and Paul von Winterfeld[3]. The latter brought to his task encyclopædic learning and a much wider knowledge of the original manuscripts than was possessed by any of his predecessors[4]. He questioned the authenticity of Nos. 3, 13, 16, 19, 26, 31, 33, 38, 40 and 41 in Wilmanns' list; his argument being that this canon, or something closely resembling it, certainly existed, but it was not coeval with Notker, and we must go at least one stage further back. The rejection of No. 31 is quite plausible, because the cult of St Lawrence at St Gall, though old, scarcely went back to Notker's time. The great popularity of this saint in Germany dated from the tenth century, because he gave Otto I his great victory against the Hungarians in 955[5]. One cannot help thinking that the grounds adduced for rejecting some of the sequences are very slight. On the other hand, Von Winterfeld has done much towards solving one very difficult problem, viz. what were the contents of the volume dedicated to Liutward.

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 12.

[2] Von Arx, *Geschichten*, I, 325. For the veneration paid to St Martin *vide* Salomo's *Formelbuch*, ed. Dümmler, p. 78.

[3] In *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 47 (1904), pp. 321–399.

[4] The useful material published seven years later in the *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 53 (especially pp. 23, 68, 95, 118–119, 315, 330), raises many new and difficult problems.

[5] Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, p. 8.

SEQUENCES ATTRIBUTED TO NOTKER

FESTIVAL	FIRST WORDS	MELODY
1. In Nativitate Domini (Dec. 25)	Natus ante secula	Dies sanctificatus
2. De s. Stephano (Dec. 26)	Hanc concordi famulatu	Concordia
[3. De s. Stephano ,,	Protomartyr Domine	Hypodiaconissa]
4. De s. Johanne Evangelista (Dec. 27)	Johannes Jesu Christo	Romana
5. De ss. Innocentibus (Dec. 28)	Laus tibi Christe cui sapit	Justus ut palma major
6. In die Circumcisionis (Jan. 1)	Gaude Maria virgo Dei	Cignea
7. De Epiphania (Jan. 6)	Festa Christi omnis Christianitas	Trinitas
8. In Octava Epiphaniæ (Jan. 13)	Iste dies celebris constat	Planctus sterilis
9. De una Virgine	Virginis venerandæ	Filia matris
10. In Purificatione b. Mariæ (Feb. 2)	Concentu parili	Symphonia
11. In Sabbato Septuagesimæ	Nostra tuba regatur fortissima	Nostra tuba
12. In Dominica Paschalis	Laudes Salvatori	Frigdola
[13. Feria II Paschalis	Laudes Christo redempti voce	Mater]
14. Feria III post Dom. sec. Pasch.	Christe Domine lætifica	Obtulerunt
15. Feria III Paschæ	Agni paschalis esu	Græca
16. Feria IV Paschæ	Grates Salvatori ac Regi	Duo tres
17. Feria V Paschæ	Laudes Deo concinat orbis	Organa
18. In Sabbato in albis	Carmen suo dilecto	Pascha
19. In Octava Paschæ	Hæc est sancta solemnitas	Virgo plorans
20. In Dom. post Oct. Paschæ	Judicem nos inspicientem	Deus judex justus
21. In Dom. II post Oct. Paschæ	Laus tibi sit o fidelis Deus	In te Domine speravi
22. In Dom. III post Oct. Paschæ	En regnator cœlestium	Qui timet Dominum
23. In Dom. IV post Oct. Paschæ	Læta mente canamus Deo	Exultate Deo
24. De Ascensione	Summi triumphum regis	Captiva

SEQUENCES ATTRIBUTED TO NOTKER—*continued*

FESTIVAL	FIRST WORDS	MELODY
25. In Octava Ascensionis	Christus hunc diem jucundum	Dominus in Syna
26. In Dominica post Ascensionem	O quam mira sunt Deus	Confitemini
27. In die Pentecoste	Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis	Occidentana
28. De s. Johanne Baptista (June 24)	Sancti Baptistæ Christi	Justus ut palma major
29. De ss. Petro et Paulo (June 29)	Petre summe Christi pastor	Concordia
30. De Doctoribus	Rex regum Domine noster	Justus ut palma minor
31. De s. Laurentio (Aug. 10)	Laurenti David magni martyr	Romana
32. De Assumptione b. M. v. (Aug. 15)	Congaudent angelorum chori	Mater
33. De Nativitate b. M. v. (Sept. 8)	Stirpe Maria regia	Adducentur
34. De s. Mauritio	Ibant pariter animis	Hypodiaconissa
35. De ss. Angelis	Angelorum ordo sacer	Laudate Dominum
36. De s. Gallo (Oct. 16)	Dilecto Deo Galle	Justus ut palma minor
37. In Dedicatione ecclesiæ	Psallat ecclesia	Lætatus sum
38. In Dedicatione ecclesiæ	Tu civium Deus conditor	Adorabo
39. De omnibus Sanctis (Nov. 1)	Omnes sancti Seraphim	Vox exultationis
40. De s. Martino (Nov. 11)	Sacerdotem Christi Martinum	Beatus vir qui timet
41. De s. Othmaro (Nov. 16)	Laude dignum	Metensis minor

The sequences in square brackets are not in the Einsiedeln Codex No. 121 and they are rejected by both Werner and Von Winterfeld. Werner also pronounces Nos. 11 and 36 to be spurious, but adds to the list: *Benedicto gratias*, *Is qui prius habitum*, *Magnum te Michahelem*, *Miles inclita*, *Tubam bellicosam*, *Quid tu virgo*, *Deus in tua virtute*, *Agone triumphali*, *Clare sanctorum*, and *Scalam ad cœlos*; all of these are in Codex No. 121.

In the preface to this book, which we may call the *Liber Sequentiarum*, Notker mentions four of his own compositions. It is interesting to note that they were intended for the following festivals: Easter, Ascension, Assumption, St Gall's Day. These were written first; in fact this is the nucleus of the *Liber Sequentiarum*. Notker evidently continued his work, bringing in the other chief solemnities observed at St Gall, until the cycle was complete. The book consisted of two parts: the first covered the *Semestre Domini* (or half-year relating to our Lord, from Christmas to Whitsuntide), the second the *Semestre Ecclesiæ* (chiefly consisting of saints' solemnities, and hence the proper domain of the Church).

In order to ascertain what festivals occurred in the *Liber Sequentiarum*, Von Winterfeld drew an analogy from the earliest existing collection of tropes. This prototype contains twelve examples only, of which two are embryonic. He argues that the *Liber Sequentiarum* was constructed on the same scale: every solemnity important enough to receive a trope was also adorned with a sequence. Following up this line of reasoning, and sifting the evidence given by the existing manuscripts with scrupulous care, he ingeniously elaborates the following list of sequences for the *Semestre Domini*:

NOTKER'S LIBER SEQUENTIARUM

PART I

First words of text	Melody	Festival
1. Natus ante secula	Dies sanctificatus	Christmas Day
2. Hanc concordi	Concordia	St Stephen
3. Johannes Jesu Christo	Romana	St John the Evangelist
4. Laus tibi Christe cui sapit	Justus ut palma major	Holy Innocents
5. Gaude Maria	Cignea	Epiphany
6. Concentu parili	Symphonia	Candlemas

It would be difficult to find a flaw in this list, but in dealing with the *Semestre Ecclesiæ*, Von Winterfeld is less successful. He is very definite about St Gall's Day (Oct. 16) being the last

festival, but on other points he is undecided. Although he concludes from the dedication to Liutward that the second half was considerably longer than the first[1], he rejects as doubtful ten of the twelve Easter sequences declared genuine by Wilmanns. The results are not tabulated, but they assume something like the following shape:

PART II

First words of text	Melody	Festival
1. Laudes Salvatori	Frigdola	Easter Sunday
2. Laudes Deo concinat	Organa	Easter week[2]
3. Christus hunc diem	Dominus in Syna	Ascension
4. Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia	Occidentana	Whitsunday
5. Congaudent angelorum chori	Mater	Assumption
6. Psallat ecclesia mater illibata	Lætatus sum	St Gall's Day

According to Von Winterfeld, three other sequences were added in honour of martyrs, confessors, and holy women respectively. They were not attached to any special day, and we have to imagine them at the foot of the list.

SEQUENTIAE DE COMMUNI

1. Quid tu virgo	Virgo plorans	De uno martyre
2. Rex regum	Justus ut palma minor	De uno confessore
3. Scalam ad cælos	Puella turbata	De una virgine

Von Winterfeld would be the last person to claim finality for his own conclusions. They do not carry absolute conviction with them, but they do help us to form some conception of the character of Notker's first volume. By comparing his list with that of Wilmanns, we are able to form an approximate idea of the number of sequences added by Notker between 885 and 912. For, even if we assume that the canon drawn up by Wilmanns contains the work of imitators, it is undoubtedly very near the first stage of the evolution.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 352.

[2] Von Winterfeld conjectures that the *Liber Sequentiarum* contained several Easter sequences, which were not allotted to definite days, but to Easter generally.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the creation of the sequence was one of the most important innovations in the whole history of mediæval music. A new *genre* had come into being, and boundless vistas were opened up. When the sequence had become an independent entity, it was affected by the technique of religious verse. Rhyme and a fixed metrical form were the inevitable results. There was now no longer any reason why the vernacular should not be used instead of Latin, or secular subjects instead of sacred themes. Hence arose the Middle High German *Leich*, which in the hands of the Minnesingers became one of the noblest forms of the lyric. At the same time the religious sequence continued to exist, long after the St Gall school had ceased to be. In fact, so exuberant was their growth in the late Middle Ages, that chaos resulted, and when the liturgy of the Catholic Church was unified, only four of the existing sequences were incorporated in the new Missal of Pius V.

Great as were the achievements of the St Gall musicians, we are nevertheless hardly justified in saying, as does Wilhelm Meyer[1], that St Gall was the home of the new ecclesiastical poetry of the Middle Ages. It is possible, although not certain, that the French prose may have developed quite independently of Notker, and that a third centre, Italy, rivalled the other two. We must see things in their true perspective. If the prose, like Gothic architecture, originated in France, Notker may still be regarded as one of the great composers of his day. After his death the German school made little progress. Some of his successors, e.g. the first two Ekkehards, Heinrich, and Godeschalk, were men of considerable talent, but they were content to retain the technique of their master, and work on traditional lines.

As regards the structure of Notker's sequences, they are divided into two distinct types. One consists of short compositions without a symmetrical form; this is the least numerous class. In the other there is a certain resemblance to Latin hymns in that there is some approach to a strophic arrangement. First there is an introductory passage based on the Alleluia-jubilus, then come a certain number of non-metrical strophes (if the term be admitted) arranged in pairs; that is to say, each phrase

[1] *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 173.

of the melody is repeated twice; finally there is a coda, which corresponds to the end of the jubilus. This form is fairly irregular: the pairs of "strophes" are of different length, and even the two "strophes" of one pair are not always identical. In Germany, Switzerland, and Austria this type predominated till the end of the Middle Ages, while in France from the twelfth century onwards the prose gradually coalesced with the metrical rhymed Latin hymn[1].

A number of centres were permanently dependent on St Gall: here Notker's authority was supreme. They were: Reichenau, Einsiedeln, Rheinau, Murbach, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Minden, Heidenheim, Echternach, Prüm, Würzburg, Freising, Fritzlar, München-Glabdach, Augsburg, Constance, Chur, Schaffhausen, Zürich, etc. In England, France, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands, Notker's sequences occur sporadically. Thus, the Easter sequence *Laudes Salvatori* is to be found in fifty-three manuscripts from Ratisbon, Minden, Salzburg, Metz, Rheims, Dublin, Winchester, Norwich, Salisbury, Flanders, Mantua, etc.; it is also to be found in printed missals from Bayeux, Rouen, Belgium, and Sweden[2]. In the *Analecta Hymnica* fifty-two manuscripts are enumerated as containing the sequence *Natus ante secula*; among the places mentioned are Bamberg, Prüm, Reichenau, Einsiedeln, Minden, Salzburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Stavelot, Limoges, Rheims, Ivrea (Piedmont), Novalese, Mantua, Volterra, Aalen, and Liège[3]. The sixty-five manuscripts in which the Epiphany sequence *Festa Christi omnis* is to be found came from all parts of Germany, many centres in Italy, some in the North of France and Flanders, but none in England[4]. In the critical apparatus of *Hæc est sancta solemnitas*[5] sixty-two codices are mentioned, originating in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia, Northern Italy (Padua, Mantua), England (Westminster) and France (Rouen). Still greater was the diffusion of *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*: the editors know of sixty-six manuscripts, and add that the number could easily be doubled[6]. This

[1] P. Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, pp. 224–5, 229–230; S. Singer, *Die Dichterschule von St Gallen*, p. 22.
[2] *Analecta Hymnica*, 53, pp. 65–6.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–1.
[4] Pp. 50–1.
[5] Pp. 99–100.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

sequence was widely spread in Switzerland, Germany, Italy, France, England, Ireland, Spain, and Flanders; its domain extended from Dublin to Florence; it was sung in the presence of the Pope himself at Rome[1]. *Stirpe Maria regia* occurs in manuscripts from Mainz, Mantua, Vercelli and Salzburg, and in two printed missals of Scandinavian origin[2], while eighty-one codices testify to the popularity of *Sancti Baptistæ* from Italy to Sweden[3]. One of the finest of Notker's sequences, *Cantemus cuncti*, was sung as far south as Verona and Benevento, and as far north as Exeter[4]. It has been three times translated into English; one rendering, *The strain upraise of joy and praise*, is in the Anglican hymn-book to-day[5].

The theory that some of Notker's melodies were influenced by Celtic airs has already been mentioned. Several Swiss scholars contend that he utilized the tunes of old folk-songs, such as we can still hear in Alpine districts[6]. Professor Wagner makes out a strong case for the Byzantine origin of Notker's melodies, several of which have Greek names[7].

Notker's fame rests mainly on his sequences, but he was also the author of hymns[8] and of a lost manual entitled *De Musica et Symphonia*. The ancients used the word *symphonia* in the sense of "consonance of the octave," or simply "melody," but in the ninth century this term also denoted the consonances of the fourth and fifth[9]. The inference is justifiable that Notker was acquainted with polyphonous music. Johannes Scotus, who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, was familiar with polyphony, and the theoretic writings of Regino of Prüm and of Hucbald, which deal with *organum*, were contemporaneous with Notker's treatise.

Notker was a born musician. It is impossible to read through his *Gesta Caroli Magni* without being struck by the frequency of the allusions to music. It is as a composer that he appears in two

[1] *Vide infra.*
[2] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 163–4.
[3] Pp. 268–270.
[4] Pp. 61–2.
[5] Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 203–4. As regards the genuineness of the sequence, *vide* Von Winterfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 352.
[6] J. Werner, *Notker's Sequenzen*, p. 120, n. 5.
[7] *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, pp. 222–4, 230–1, 258–9.
[8] *Vide supra*, p. 167.
[9] *Oxford History of Music*, I, 47.

anecdotes related by Ekkehard V and Metzler respectively. In the first[1] he is described as listening to the sound of a grating water-wheel near the Abbey, which suggested the words of the Whitsuntide sequence *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia.* Some writers have professed to hear the clanking of the mill-wheel in the words. Paul von Winterfeld sarcastically remarks: "Once one of the monks held his ears at the sound of a mill-wheel, and ejaculated 'Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia.'" The phrase had become proverbial and signified "Heaven help us!"[2]

The other story[3] tells how Notker saw some workmen building a bridge over the precipitous ravine of Martinstobel, near St Gall. The sight of the men engaged in this perilous occupation inspired the magnificent antiphon *Media vita in morte sumus.* As our informant, Metzler, only wrote in the seventeenth century, his authority was probably late and unreliable. No earlier writer attributes the *Media vita* to Notker, and it is doubtful whether he wrote it. The oldest St Gall manuscript containing it is of the fourteenth century[4], but it can be traced back much further than this[5]. Whoever composed the antiphon, it became very famous. It was sung in the churches, and also out-of-doors by the people in moments of danger. It was used by armies as a battle-cry, and translated into the vernacular: it became a popular folk-song. Magical power was ascribed to the words, and hence in 1316 the Council of Cologne forbade anyone to sing the *Media vita* against his enemies without the permission of a bishop. In 1549 it was adopted by the Anglican Church as an anthem in the Order for Burial of the Dead. Luther also placed it in his hymn-book[6]. It has been sung in recent years in the original at St Gall[7].

While Notker was writing his sequences, his contemporary and friend Tuotilo was making a name for himself by his tropes. He set himself the task of adorning certain portions of the mass sung

[1] Schubiger, p. 54.
[2] *Neue Jahrbücher*, v, 352; *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 47, pp. 373–4.
[3] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 166.
[4] No. 388, p. 474.
[5] It is quoted in *Der arme Heinrich* (c. 1200) by Hartmann von Aue.
[6] *Geistliche Lieder*, ed. Schirck, p. 89.
[7] Schubiger (p. 56) informs us that it was sung in country churches in his day.

on high festivals by inserting words and music appropriate to the context. For instance, on Christmas Day the mass began with the introit: "Puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis: cujus imperium super humerum ejus, et vocabitur nomen ejus magni consilii angelus." When this had been troped it ran thus: "Ecce adest de quo prophetæ cecinerunt dicentes: *Puer natus est nobis*, Quem virgo Maria genuit, *Et filius datus est nobis.* Nomen ejus Emmanuhel vocabitur: *Cujus imperium super humerum ejus*, etc." It will be seen that the official text itself is not in any respect modified in meaning: what is added is not so much an interpolation as a commentary.

The oldest tropes in existence are believed to be the work of Tuotilo. Until comparatively recently, he was thought to be their inventor, and it was supposed that this was only another manifestation of the bold inventive spirit which characterized the St Gall school in the spacious days of Abbots Hartmuot and Salomo. That Tuotilo is the earliest known exponent of a *genre* which was to have momentous consequences in divers spheres of human endeavour[1] is a safe assertion. That he was the pioneer is possible, but not certain. What reasons are there for assuming the contrary? Anyone who peruses the forty-seventh and forty-ninth volumes of the *Analecta Hymnica* cannot fail to perceive that relatively few of the thousands of tropes known to us can be discovered in St Gall manuscripts, and even when they can, it is usually in a thirteenth-century source. Matters are a little different with regard to the introit tropes, but a careful study of the manuscripts shows that, unlike the sequences, the tropes did not particularly flourish in Germany. It is to England and France, more especially to Normandy, that we must look for the exuberant growth of tropes[2].

The mention of Normandy at once leads our thoughts back to Jumièges. It is true that no ninth or tenth century texts from Normandy are preserved. But the same cause which impelled the Jumièges monk to take refuge at St Gall also accounts for the disappearance of the older tropers in Normandy. However

[1] The Goliards' songs and the liturgical drama both developed out of the tropes.

[2] F. Blume, in *Analecta Hymnica*, 47, p. 16.

in the heart of France, which was secure against the depredations of the Northmen, in the Abbey of St Martial at Limoges, a tropary written between 933 and 936, has been preserved. It contains no less than thirteen tropes to the Gloria, and many to the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communion[1].

It is hence conceivable that the Jumièges antiphonary which inspired Notker's muse, also contained tropes to the Introit, and that Tuotilo, like his friend, took a leaf out of the Frenchman's book, as the saying goes. If this were so, Notker's attention would be taken principally by the "versus ad sequentias," because he had already attempted to invent some such mnemonic device himself, but the book must have had other contents which were new to the monks of St Gall. That Tuotilo's tropes were subsequent to the arrival of the Jumièges monk is practically certain. If Tuotilo had acted on his own initiative, and without following any precedent, in interpolating liturgical texts, then Notker would not have needed to wait till the arrival of the French monk before finding a method for memorizing the Alleluia. Moreover the view that Tuotilo's tropes were written shortly after the sequences of Notker, agrees with the St Gall tradition[2] that Tuotilo presented his compositions to Charles III, whose visit to the Abbey falls in the year 883: Notker's early work dates from about 862.

It would, therefore, appear that Tuotilo left the Alleluia of the gradual to his friend, and experimented with the introit, by prefixing, rather than by intercalating[3], short explanatory passages. Did he also apply Notker's idea to the Kyrie, and write words over the traditional melody? It is very doubtful. The only Kyrie trope which has ever been associated with Tuotilo is *Cunctipotens genitor Deus omnicreator*, which is very dissimilar from Tuotilo's work. The first person who attributed it to him was Joachim Cuntz, in the so-called Codex Brander (No. 546), written in 1507. Joachim's testimony is worthless: he denotes eighty-two sequences as Notker's productions, and he is not even consistent

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Casus S. Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 163.

[3] As Dr Frere points out, *Hodie cantandus* "only served to *introduce* the introit: the interior parts that follow it are not an integral part with the rest," *The Winchester Troper*, p. xvi, n. 4.

with himself, for in his index he virtually contradicts his own statements[1].

Now that the whole matter has been elucidated by Fr. Blume and Mr Bannister[2], we can clearly see what has happened. According to Ekkehard IV, Tuotilo wrote the trope *Omnipotens genitor, fons et origo*. Hence Gautier, and others after him, have erroneously attributed to Tuotilo the Kyrie trope with a similar beginning: *Omnipotens genitor, lumenque et lucis origo*[3]. But Ekkehard's words cannot possibly apply to any other composition than the prose introit trope commencing *Omnipotens genitor, fons et origo et totius pietatis incomprehensibilis auctor*. To add to the confusion, Schubiger printed another Kyrie trope: *Cunctipotens genitor, Deus omnium creator* from Codex 546, adding Tuotilo's name, and altering *cunctipotens* into *omnipotens*, apparently as an emendation based on Ekkehard's version of the opening words[4]. In short, we have no evidence that Tuotilo ever troped the Kyrie: he seems to have confined himself to the Proper (i.e. the variable portions) of the Mass. Fr. Blume considers that *Cunctipotens genitor* was written at St Gall. It has every appearance of being an imitation of Tuotilo's introit trope. The oldest Kyrie tropes in Germany are those contained in a tenth-century Reichenau manuscript[5].

The passage in the *Casus S. Galli*[6] runs as follows:

> The melodies Tuotilo composed are strange and easily recognizable, since on the psalter or rotta, on which he excelled, the music sounds sweeter, as appears in *Hodie cantandus* and *Omnium virtutum gemmis*[7]. These tropes he presented to Charles to be sung with the offertory, when the King himself performed it. Which king also, when he [Tuotilo] had composed the offertory antiphon *Viri Galilei*[8], ordered Tuotilo to add verses, [which were] as they say: *Quoniam Dominus Jesus Christus cum esset*; *Omnipotens genitor, fons et origo*, with the following, *Gaudete et cantate*, and indeed others; but we mention

[1] *Vide* J. Werner, *Notkers Sequenzen*, p. 90.
[2] *Analecta Hymnica*, XLVII, 50.
[3] Reproduced with neums in Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, pp. 229–233.
[4] *Die Sängerschule St Gallens*, pp. 40–1.
[5] *Analecta Hymnica*, XLVII, 38.
[6] Pp. 162–3.
[7] Reproduced in Gautier, pp. 62–64 and 65 respectively.
[8] This antiphon, the first words of which coincide with those of the introit of the Ascension mass, is still to be found in a St Gall antiphonary, Meyer von Knonau, *Casus*, p. 163, n. 586.

these in order that you may know how different their melody is from the others, if you are a musician.

These remarks have been frequently misunderstood. Greith[1] and Gautier[2] took them to mean that Charles, not Tuotilo, wrote the words of the antiphon, and the latter set it to music. The last of the legitimate Carolingian emperors was scarcely capable of such an effort.

With a sureness of touch that stamps him as a connoisseur, Ekkehard characterizes Tuotilo's music. It was especially suited to the psalter. Evidently stringed instruments were occasionally used at St Gall to accompany the tropes. In what way Tuotilo's musical technique differed from that of his contemporaries is a matter for speculation. The remarks about the tropes raise further problems. The second text mentioned is found in Codex 484 as an offertory trope, but the first and third served to introduce the introit. If Ekkehard is right as to their original destination, they must have been transferred to their subsequent position at some later time. This is not at all unlikely, considering the close similarity of structure shared by the introit and the offertory. Taking as our criterion the later liturgical usage, we obtain the following list:

Festival	Part of mass	First words
1. Christmas Day	Introit	Hodie cantandus[3]
2. St Stephen	Offertory	Omnium virtutum gemmis
3. St John the Evangelist	Introit	Quoniam Dominus Jesus Christus
4. Easter	Offertory	Omnipotens genitor, fons et origo
5. Ascension	Introit	Gaudete et cantate

This does not by any means represent the whole of Tuotilo's achievements, but these are the only tropes which are definitely described as his productions in the eleventh century. Like Notker's sequences they are all in prose. We can safely assume that in both forms of composition a fixed metre or the

[1] *Cantarium S. Galli*, p. viii. [2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 67.

[3] This trope was perhaps suggested by the antiphon of the Magnificat for vespers on Christmas Day: "Hodie natus est, hodie Salvator apparuit, hodie in terra canunt Angeli," *Cantarium S. Galli*, pp. 89–90.

use of assonance is an indication of later date. There are good grounds for believing that Tuotilo only wrote introductory and not internal tropes; the latter are accretions for which subsequent composers were responsible. In all probability he troped both the introit and the offertory. If the texts immediately following *Hodie cantandus* in the Einsiedeln Codex No. 22, viz. *Hodie natus est Christus; gaudent omnes angeli in cœlo*, and *Hodie pectore, mundo, et corde benigno ad sacrum et immensum misterium*[1], are also the work of Tuotilo, then this versatile composer also troped the Benedicamus and Communion of the Christmas mass; but these may be later imitations.

A collection of twelve tropes in the Vienna Codex 1609 (Fol. 4 to 8), of which two are very brief, is considered by Léon Gautier to be of St Gall provenance[2]. It has the following contents:

1. Christmas Day	(Dec. 25).	Laudemus omnes Dominum.
2. St Stephen	(Dec. 26).	In vice nos Stephani Dominum cantando canamus.
3. St John	(Dec. 27).	Dilectus iste Domini.
4. Holy Innocents	(Dec. 28).	Infirma mundi deligens.
5. Epiphany	(Jan. 6).	Rege nostro carne tecto.
6. Candlemas	(Feb. 2).	Gratias agamus Deo.
7. Easter		Exsurge, rector gentium.
8. Ascension		Ex numero frequentium.
9. Whitsuntide		Consubstantialis patri.
10. St John the Baptist	(June 24).	Dei præventus gratia.
11. St Peter	(June 29).	Extasi sublimis Petrus.
12. St Mary	(July 15).	Forma speciosissime, manuque potentissime[3].

This is, according to Gautier, the original tropary, and was produced at St Gall in the ninth century. Von Winterfeld's objection that no St Gall manuscripts were known to have drifted to Vienna, need not be taken too seriously. It will be noticed that six tropes belong to the period before Lent, and six to the rest of the ecclesiastical year. The first eleven are all "Introductiones ad Introitum," i.e. tropes prefixed to the introit, not interpolated in it. The twelfth is doubtful. They are all metrical tropes with assonance, which disproves Gautier's

[1] *Vide* Schubiger, *Exempla*, No. 41.

[2] *Les Tropes*, p. 132; cf. Von Winterfeld, *Z. f. d. A.*, XLVII, 399.

[3] Cf. the St Gall Epiphany trope *Forma speciosissimus* and a Gradual trope (In Nativitate Beatæ M.V.), *Analecta Hymnica*, XLIX, p. 237.

hypothesis. It is several decades later than Tuotilo, who died about 912, but it is undoubtedly a product of St Gall[1].

Gautier does not explain one peculiar circumstance. We have had abundant evidence of the close connection between the sequences and the first tropes. As Von Winterfeld very reasonably suggests, those masses important enough to have an Alleluia-jubilus were also adorned by the addition of a trope. Now one of Notker's earliest productions was the sequence for St Gall's Day, *Psallat ecclesia.* Why is this feast wanting in the tropary? Surely October 16th was one of those solemnities which, above all others, lent themselves to liturgical embellishments. For this was the day on which strangers of high rank were wont to visit the Abbey, to be enrolled as "confratres" and to give their oblations.

To return to Tuotilo: all that we hear of him bears out the impression that he was a man of marked individuality. At a time and place at which choral singing had reached a high level, but instrumental music was a rare accomplishment, he sang his tropes to his own accompaniment on the psalter, or as it was called in the vernacular, the *rotta.* He also played "all manner of stringed instruments and pipes better than anyone else[2]." These gifts could not fail to make him popular with the young sons of nobles who were sent to the Abbey to be educated. So many of them went to learn music from him that the Abbot set aside a special class-room for this purpose[3].

His compositions became as well-known as Notker's sequences. No other lesser trope was as famous in the Middle Ages as *Hodie cantandus.* It found a place in the famous Winchester troper. Three St Gall tropes long survived the neumes, and are actually to be found in a Bodleian manuscript in Guidonian notation[4]. It is as yet too early to estimate the position of Notker and Tuotilo in the history of music; but, in the words of Dr W. H. Frere:

> The tropers practically represent the sum total of musical advance between the ninth and the twelfth century. As far as ecclesiastical music is concerned, the Roman chant for the Mass had assumed a fixed form in the course of the seventh century in the Gregorian

[1] Fr. Blume in *Analecta Hymnica,* XLIX, p. 26.
[2] *Casus,* p. 162.
[3] Schubiger, p. 61.
[4] Frere, *Winchester Troper,* p. xviii.

Antiphonale Missarum: this collection had spread everywhere and moreover had become invested with such a sanctity that throughout this period it was considered out of the question to incorporate new music with it. The same sort of sanctity surrounded also the music of the Divine Office, but to a less extent; consequently all new developments in musical composition, failing to gain admission into the privileged circle of the recognised Gregorian service-books, were thrown together so as to form an independent music-collection supplemental to the official books; and that is exactly what a troper is. Apart from ecclesiastical surroundings the art of music can hardly be said to have existed; such secular music as existed was pure folk-music—the spontaneous outflow of the untutored soul of the people[1].

The tradition founded by Notker and Tuotilo was kept alive by the first two Ekkehards and others. Ekkehard I is known to be the composer of the sequences *A solis occasu usque ad exortum*, *Prompta mente canamus*, *Summum præconem Christi* and *Qui benedicti cupitis*[2]. Ekkehard I died in 973, and before the end of the century the codification of St Gall sequences took place. A number of those included in the canon were by Notker Balbulus, at least one, *A solis occasu*, was by Ekkehard I; whether the work of other composers was present, is uncertain. How was the canon made? Originally there would be the text of Notker's genuine sequences with neumes and Romanian letters, under the heading "In nomine Domini incipit liber hymnorum Notkeri." A few decades later, when this list was copied, some other sequences by other composers were appended. The genuine texts were arranged according to the order of the festivals in the Calendar: when the codification took place the genuine and spurious sequences were re-arranged so as to form a homogeneous whole. The heading "In nomine Domini" etc. was mechanically copied, either from carelessness, or ignorance, or because the work of later composers was called "Notkerian," i.e. "in Notker's style." It is interesting to observe that the scribe of Codex 484 omitted the heading, apparently because he knew that some sequences were not composed by Notker. A generation later his list would be thought to contain genuine sequences only, and the traditional title was restored. Codex 484 is the oldest St Gall sequentiary. It was written about the year 1000, and it represents the stage

[1] Frere, *Winchester Troper*, p. vi.

[2] Werner, p. 9.

reached when the codification was carried out. It comprises forty-four melodies. Many other sequences are found in subsequent collections. The origin of these later accretions is doubtful. It is not known who wrote them. They may not even have been written at St Gall[1]. The present tendency is to depreciate Notker, to lay stress on his debt to France, which the now discredited *Proœmium* admits, and to emphasize the importance of other German centres, e.g. Mainz, St Emmeran, Fulda and Cologne. It cannot be denied that St Gall sequentiaries of early date exist in great numbers. This is accounted for by the theory that they have been preserved by accident, while those of Metz, Murbach, etc. have not had the good fortune to survive. If in a Cologne or Salzburg manuscript sequences occur of which the oldest text has been located at St Gall or Reichenau or Rheinau, it was formerly thought that it was a case of borrowing from the St Gall district. This would lead to the conclusion that many great abbeys borrowed practically all their proses from Notker's school. If this were true, St Gall would occupy a position of unexampled pre-eminence, as against the almost total dearth of creative talent in a score of other centres[2]. That Notker stands supreme, both in point of priority and of actual achievement, among German sequence-writers, is a truth which has not been seriously assailed. When the history of hymnology comes to be written (the eminent writers of the *Analecta Hymnica* do not aim at doing anything more than just providing the materials), justice will be done to such centres as Fulda and Cologne, and the contribution of St Gall will be accurately circumscribed.

At the beginning of the eleventh century a revival of the St Gall school of music took place. It was due to Notker Labeo, who was a great teacher rather than a creative genius. His interest in music is evinced by the fact that he wrote a treatise on musical theory, the first work on this subject in the German language[3].

[1] *Vide Analecta Hymnica*, LIII, p. xii. Werner still upheld the traditional view that Notker wrote fifty sequences (p. 110); but most competent scholars regard this figure as too high.

[2] *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII, p. xii.

[3] Codex 242, pp. 10–16; *vide* P. T. Hoffmann, *Der mittelalterliche Mensch*, p. 163.

His pupil Ekkehard IV was an excellent musician. More than one passage in the *Casus* could only have been written by a man who was "moved by concord of sweet sounds." "More than any other," he writes, "this art corresponds to nature; though it is very difficult to acquire, it is all the more agreeable to exercise[1]." It is not the least of Ekkehard's merits that he is the first historian of St Gall music. Inaccurate as his account is, it still remains unique. What would we not give to have such a history of each of the great abbeys of Christendom! So successful was Ekkehard as a musician that Archbishop Aribo of Mainz summoned him to teach in the singing-school there. The description given by Ekkehard IV of the mass he celebrated in 1030[2] at Ingelheim in the presence of the imperial court, shows the fame of St Gall music.

In the twelfth century with the general decline of the monastery, the school came to an end. But it cannot be said that the love of music died out. The collections of sequences, tropes, anthems, etc. were copied time after time. Seven eleventh-century manuscripts containing hymns are still to be seen in the Abbey Library[3]; there are at least five written in the twelfth[4]; three of the thirteenth century[5]; four or more of the fourteenth[6], and a large number of the fifteenth.

But in spite of these sporadic revivals, the sun of the Abbey had set. For a time Notker's name was almost forgotten in his own monastery. In the year 1215 his Whitsuntide sequence *Sancti Spiritus gratia assit nobis* was sung at Rome before Innocent III. Immediately afterwards the Pope sent for Abbot Ulrich, who was also present, made enquiries about the composer of the melody, and on receiving unsatisfactory replies, he sternly rebuked the monks of St Gall for not keeping green the memory of so saintly a man[7]. Perhaps as a result of his visit to Rome, this abbot did a good deal to encourage music in his abbey. Ulrich's kinsman dedicated a new chapel to St Oswald, and a

[1] *Casus*, p. 127.
[2] For the date *vide* Dümmler, *Ekkehart IV von St Gallen*, p. 4, n. 1.
[3] Nos. 374, 378, 380, 381, 382, 387, 413.
[4] Nos. 344, 360, 361, 375, 416.
[5] Nos. 379, 383, 437.
[6] Nos. 337 *b*, 343, 403, 469.
[7] *Conradus de Fabaria*, p. 181.

sequence was specially written for this event[1]. In the same abbacy a scribe added various tropes and Innocent III's famous sequence *Veni, sancte spiritus* in blank pages of an earlier manuscript. Probably Ulrich VI brought this sequence back with him from Rome[2]. As if to compensate for the former neglect, Ekkehard V wrote about 1220 a life of Notker Balbulus, containing a glowing panegyric of music[3].

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the study of music was resumed in real earnest, but new principles had been introduced and a new system of notation was in use[4]. In Flanders a glorious outburst of song had given a fresh impetus to music. Soon afterwards Palestrina began to teach in Rome. The monks of St Gall had to be content to learn, while having the proud consciousness that their predecessors had taught. During the abbacy of Ulrich VIII, the Italian Gaza trained the choir (from about 1460 onwards). Fridolin Sicher of Bischofszell, who became organist of the Abbey in 1515, copied many liturgical manuscripts and composed various pieces himself[5]. About 1531 part-singing was adopted by the Abbey choir, and in 1645 an unsuccessful attempt was made to re-introduce instrumental music; in 1692 Abbot Sfondrati carried out this change[6].

[1] Werner, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 43. Cf. also p. 48 for further evidence of Ulrich's services to music.

[3] *Cantarium S. Galli*, p. xiii.

[4] There is an excellent account of the period since the thirteenth century (where Schubiger's narrative closes) in Marxer, *Zur spätmittelalterlichen Choralgeschichte St Gallens*; *vide* also Greith, *Cantarium S. Galli*, p. xiii sqq.

[5] Codices 351, 444–5, 532–9, 541. Cf. *Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, xx (1885), pp. i–ix.

[6] Von Arx, *Geschichten*, III, 263.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DRAMA

There is scarcely a single phase in the history of the theatre, from the first rudimentary beginnings of liturgical drama down to Ibsen, that has not been witnessed in St Gall. There is an occasional break in the continuity of the process, but all the main episodes have been enacted there. A thousand years ago in the Abbey, the Easter and Christmas mystery plays were just taking shape; to-day in the municipal theatre, the leading playwrights of modern times entertain a cultivated audience. Even the marionette-theatre, with Dr Faust in the repertory, is not wanting in the gay pageant.

We must not expect to find at St Gall any vestiges of the classical dramatic tradition. The comedies and tragedies of the ancients were never acted in the Middle Ages, and very few of them were even read. From the golden age of the Abbey to the dawn of the Renaissance, Terence was practically the only classical dramatist of whom anything was known, and he was not admired for his qualities as a playwright, but for his worldly wisdom, his epigrammatic conciseness. It was with a view to using it as a text-book in the school that Notker Labeo translated the *Andria*. The attempt of the nun Hrotsvitha to replace Terence by didactic Christian plays was isolated, and had no effect on the rise of the drama. It is to the ritual of the church that we must look for the beginnings of the mediæval stage.

What were the initial phases of the development? They might be described as: (i) antiphony; (ii) dialogue; (iii) true drama. The custom of antiphonal singing was part of the Gregorian tradition. An antiphon (i.e. a verse or verses, generally taken from the Psalter) was sung like a refrain between the verses of a psalm by alternating choirs[1]. It is not a far step from antiphony to dialogue. Among the tropes prefixed to the introit of the mass on high festivals there were several short passages in dialogue

[1] E.g. in the introit of the mass; Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, translated by Orme and Wyatt, p. 220.

form. Two other elements must be present before true drama results: firstly action, and secondly some kind of *mise-en-scène*.

Where did the drama originate? It is more than doubtful whether this question will ever be satisfactorily answered. We might as well hope to localize the origin of a folk-song. It is quite possible that liturgical drama came into being at different places almost simultaneously. There was in a very real sense a universal collaboration in Europe by which all the arts and sciences benefited. A new style of architecture, or poetry, or music appeared in one district, and a few decades later it was the common style of a whole country or even of half a continent.

The creation of liturgical drama was not a single, indivisible act. First of all, someone had to invent tropes, then came the insertion of dramatic dialogue into the liturgy; after this the dialogue became more elaborate. Next definite parts had to be taken by the choristers, and so on. It was as long a process as from the first application of steam to industry to the construction of a working locomotive, from James Watt to George Stephenson.

St Gall played a notable part in the evolution of the theatre. This does not mean that the drama developed *ab ovo* at St Gall, but merely that here was a congenial environment in which the drama flourished, and where doubtless many improvements were added. It has been repeatedly asserted that St Gall is the home of the ecclesiastical drama[1]. As it is our business to write a history, not a panegyric, we must be on guard against sweeping generalizations. If Tuotilo really created tropes, he might be styled the Watt of the liturgical drama, but it requires some temerity to call him the Stephenson as well: without being either, he might still have been a very great innovator. There were kings before Agamemnon.

What are the facts? Among the earliest known examples of a dialogue added to a liturgical text is the Easter trope *Quem quæritis in sepulchro*. Its authorship is not known. One of the oldest manuscripts in which it is found is the St Gall Codex No. 484, which also contains the sequences and tropes ascribed to Notker and Tuotilo respectively. As far as we know, *Quem*

[1] E.g. by W. Meyer in *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 36; W. H. Grattan Flood in the *Month*, December, 1921, p. 8.

quæritis in sepulchro dates from the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century; in the St Gall manuscript it is seen in its most primitive form, but to say that it was composed by Tuotilo is a statement incapable of proof. Tuotilo's trope *Hodie cantandus est*, which is in the same manuscript, is in dialogue form, and hence it might have been the nucleus of the first liturgical drama. But this destiny was reserved for *Quem quæritis*, in which the dramatic possibilities were greater.

The assertion that, because Tuotilo's tropes are in this manuscript, the Easter trope is also his work, is illogical. It was a similar misconception which led Schubiger to attribute all the sequences in Codex 484 to Notker, and his error was the more pardonable because these sequences are under Notker's name, but now we know that there are spurious specimens among them[1]. But Tuotilo's name is nowhere mentioned, and in the whole of the Middle Ages no one ever claimed, as far as I am aware, that *Quem quæritis* was written by Tuotilo, although Joachim Cuntz did ascribe at least one trope to him which he cannot possibly have written[2]. The manuscript contains in all over thirty tropes; five of them are said to be the work of Tuotilo: most of the others differ considerably from these in style and technique. It is true that the St Gall version of *Quem quæritis* is the simplest in form, but the fact remains that the oldest manuscript in which it occurs[3] is from St Martial, Limoges (c. 935).

In the version given by the oldest St Gall source, the trope consists of a dialogue between two choirs representing the angels at the sepulchre and the women, to be sung before mass on Easter Sunday:

Question. Whom seek ye in the sepulchre, O Christians?

Answer. Jesus of Nazareth crucified, O heavenly ones.

Reply. He is not here, He is risen, as He prophesied; go and announce that He is risen from the grave.

Next came the introit: "I arose and am still with thee, alleluia."

This trope is of the utmost importance; it formed the starting-point not only of the Easter plays, but also of the Nativity and

[1] E.g. Ekkehard I's sequence *A solis occasu*.
[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 193–4.
[3] *Analecta Hymnica*, XLIX, pp. 9–10.

Ascension tropes, each of which had a history of its own. Thus, the desire to bring before the congregation as vividly as possible the Gospel narrative of the resurrection led to the creation of a trope which is the basis of all liturgical drama. The Easter office of the Roman missal was characterized by the sobriety and restraint which we always associate with the old Roman use. It must have seemed austere to the monks of St Gall who, true to the Benedictine tradition, endeavoured to make their church and the divine office celebrated within its walls as magnificent as art and devotion could render them. This aesthetic purpose was responsible for the rise of mediæval drama, as it was for the sequence and tropes.

Quem quæritis was, as we have seen, a prose trope to the introit of the Easter mass. The dramatic element was lacking until the dialogue was combined with the custom of burying the cross on Good Friday (Depositio crucis), and raising it again on Easter morning (Elevatio crucis). These ceremonies, which are closely related to the Veneration of the Cross, have been traced back to Ghent, whence Archbishop Dunstan brought them to England in 955[1]; they are undoubtedly older than this, but it is beyond the scope of the present chapter to discuss their origin. In the Winchester *Concordia Regularis* a circumstantial account of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* is given, and it will be seen that the Easter trope has already been added[2].

Near, or upon the altar, a veil was hung to represent the sepulchre. On the night of Good Friday some deacons placed a large cross in this place, where it remained till the night before Easter Sunday. During the third nocturn of matins on the last mentioned day, a monk clad in an alb and holding a branch of palm in his hand, took his place near the sepulchre. Then three other brethren wearing copes slowly approached, swinging censers in their hands, and looking about them, as if searching for something. The first monk, who took the part of the angel[3], then asked: "Whom seek ye in the sepulchre?" as in the St Gall

[1] Creizenach, p. 44, n. 2.

[2] *Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. xviii; Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, pp. 14–17.

[3] Following the Gospel of St Mark; in the St Gall trope there are two, because St Luke's Gospel is the source.

trope. What follows is identical with the original text, except for the addition of two sentences at the close:

[Women] Alleluia! The Lord is risen.

[Angel] Come and see the place where the Lord was buried[1].

At these words the angel removed the cloth which covered the tomb, and showed the three brethren representing the women that the cross was no longer there, but only the linen cloth in which it had been enveloped. The three women then took the cloth and exposed it to the view of the clergy, as if to demonstrate that the body of Jesus was no longer in the grave-clothes. After this they sang the anthem: *The Lord is risen from the grave* (Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro), and then the Prior commenced the Te Deum, which is part of the office of matins.

It is clear that two changes have occurred: (i) the dialogue *Quem quæritis* has acquired a new function and a new place in the liturgy; (ii) it has been fused with the dramatic action of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* ceremonies to form a resurrection play in miniature. What was the reason for these changes? The motive for troping the introit was twofold. Firstly there was the desire to add colour, mystical fervour, to the restrained, matter-of-fact Roman rite. Besides this psychological reason there was a practical one. The introit was sung by the choir while the celebrants proceeded towards the altar to officiate at mass. This part of the ritual lent itself very readily to embellishment and expansion. In a church of vast dimensions a longer introit was at once required. But in the case of the trope *Quem quæritis* the introduction had become more important than the introit proper. The interest was now concentrated on the mimetic action and not on the entrance of the clergy. It is therefore not surprising to find that the dialogue in its more elaborate form, was transferred to another part of the liturgy, viz. after the third respond of the third nocturn of matins on Easter Sunday, which was the proper place for the *Elevatio*.

A congener of the Ghent resurrection drama existed in South Germany before the end of the tenth century, as is shown by a Bamberg manuscript[2]. The only difference between this text and

[1] Matthew xxviii, 6.

[2] Creizenach, *loc. cit.*, p. 45. In liturgical matters Bamberg was dependent on St Gall to a certain extent.

the Flemish version is that in the former the three priests sing an additional sentence: "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre[1]?" Then comes the question: "Whom seek ye in the sepulchre?"

The oldest reference to the *Elevatio* at St Gall dates from the eleventh century[2]. It differs in some respects from the Ghent and Winchester rite. Instead of a cross a consecrated host is placed in the sepulchre. On Easter Sunday during matins this was removed from the sepulchre. After this ceremony, the respond *Angelus Domini descendit de cœlo* was sung, followed by its *versus* (Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus). The removal of the host *coram publico* is a peculiar feature; in other places the cross was taken away *clam*, at night, which was really more in keeping with the scriptural narrative.

The chief conclusion to which this version leads is that at St Gall the *Elevatio* ceremony was inserted in the office of matins, although not at its usual place towards the close of the office[3], while the Easter trope still kept its position at the beginning of the Easter mass. The chronological order was therefore: (i) interpolation of the *Elevatio* text in the matins office of Easter Sunday; (ii) transference of *Quem quæritis* from the breviary to the missal. The second stage was reached at Ghent in 955; a century later it had not been introduced at St Gall. After the magnificent creative outburst caused by Notker, Tuotilo, and their contemporaries, St Gall ritual shared the general decline of the Abbey. Progress ceased abruptly and the only possible policy was one of extreme conservatism. Before leaving the ceremony of raising the cross, we might make a note of another peculiarity of the St Gall custom. There can be little doubt that here the host was actually placed in a permanent erection, a sepulchre specially constructed for this and other similar rites in the presbytery of the church[4]. At Winchester the monks had to content themselves with a clumsy contrivance[5].

[1] Mark xvi, 3.

[2] Codex No. 387, p. 55; *vide* K. Young in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*, vol. xvi, Part ii, pp. 896–8.

[3] The position varied in different places.

[4] *Vide infra*, p. 228.

[5] Mr Chambers thinks that "the sepulchre was made on the altar, not in the hollow of it, and covered from sight until wanted by a veil," p. 17, n. 1.

As regards the further development of the *Quem quæritis* at St Gall, it may be said that it remained a dramatic scene in the office of matins, although it possibly expanded in the course of time. It may have fallen into disuse in the feudal period of the Abbey's history, but it was certainly observed under Abbot Eglolf. In order to carry out the reformation of his monastery, Eglolf summoned six monks from Hersfeld (Hirschfeld) in Hessen. In 1432 these monks completed an *Ordinarium* for use at St Gall[1], copying it, with a few slight modifications, from a Hirschfeld original. The *Ordinarium* gives a version of the *Quem quæritis*[2] that is more highly developed than the Bamberg text referred to above; it has two new scenes and additional dramatis personæ, viz. the *peregrini*, who take the place of the Apostles Peter and John, and the risen Lord, who is portrayed by a priest in a red chasuble, holding the resurrection banner in his hand. This is the third, or latest, type of the *Quem quæritis*, according to Mr Chambers' classification[3].

After the third respond at matins, the priests representing the three Marys sing in turn the hymns or *planctus Heu nobis*, *Jam percussa* and *Sed eamus*. The choir then commences the antiphon *Maria Magdalena*, during which the women proceed to the sepulchre. The Latin dialogue opens with the words: "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?" After this the Easter trope "Whom seek ye in the sepulchre" etc. follows, as in the oldest St Gall version[4]. Turning to the choir, the three Marys then sing the antiphon: "We came weeping to the monument, and saw an angel of the Lord, who sat there and said that Christ is risen." The *peregrini*, standing in the middle of the choir in front of the first steps, sing the first verse of the hymn *Jesu nostra redemptio*. While the choir chant *Currebant duo simul*, the pilgrims advance to the sepulchre, where they receive the *sudarium*. Turning round, they display it to the choir, singing *Cernitis o socii*. Then Mary Magdalene sings three hymns.

[1] Codex 448. Von Arx, *op. cit.*, II, 247.

[2] Printed, together with the account of the Depositio Crucis, the Elevatio, the Tollite portas scene, and the Adoratio Crucis, in *Transactions of the Modern Language Society of America*, XXIV (1909), 318–324.

[3] *The Mediæval Stage*, II, 32.

[4] Codex No. 484, p. 11; *vide supra*.

Meanwhile a priest holding the resurrection banner appears at the high altar. Mary Magdalene falls at his feet and repeats three times "Heu, redemptio Israel!" The dialogue that follows is taken from the Gospel of St John[1]. After various hymns the whole congregation strike up *Christ ist erstanden*. Finally comes the *Te Deum*.

Even if we did not know that this is an imported version, it would be quite evident that there has been an interruption of the tradition. In this *Officium Sepulchri* it is a cross that is placed in the sepulchre on the night of Good Friday, there to be sprinkled with holy water and censed. In the earlier text the host only is mentioned. As the Hirschfeld monks quarrelled with Abbot Eglolf and took their departure in 1440, many of their innovations disappeared with them. We know that at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was once more customary at St Gall to place the consecrated host in the Easter sepulchre and to sprinkle it with holy water, but in 1509 this was altered in order to bring it into conformity with the Roman usage[2].

We have hitherto been chiefly concerned with the *Quem quæritis* itself, but we must also consider the various off-shoots that sprang from it. Two imitations of the famous Easter trope were the sources of the Ascension and Nativity plays. The first, an introduction to the introit of Ascension Day, is in a Limoges manuscript written before 1031[3].

Whom do ye believe to have ascended above the stars, O Christians?
Christ who arose from the sepulchre, O heavenly ones.
Now He has ascended, as He prophesied: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God. Alleluia.
O ye kingdoms of the earth, peoples and tongues, unite in praising the Lord:
Whom in the Father's throne the habitants of heaven adore:
Thanks be to God: say alleluia.

[1] xx, 16–17. In another St Gall manuscript, No. 525, p. 294 (fourteenth or fifteenth century), there are liturgical directions and hymns for the night preceding Easter Sunday. As far as I know, they have not been printed.

[2] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, II, 458–9.

[3] Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, 118, 219. For other versions cf. Chambers, *loc. cit.*, p. 11, n. 1.

In an eleventh century St Gall service book now in the Bodleian[1], we find the prototype of the *Officium Pastorum* or Play of the Shepherds. It is a trope to the introit of the Christmas mass, and is provided with what we may call "stage-directions." Before the priests enter the church to officiate at mass, two deacons wearing dalmatics take their stand behind the altar, and carry on the following dialogue with two choristers in the choir:

[Deacons] Whom do ye seek in the crib, O shepherds, say?

[Choristers] Our Saviour Christ the Lord, an infant wrapped in swaddling-clothes, according to the word of the angels.

[Deacons] The Child is here with Mary, His Mother, of whom Isaiah the Prophet foretold: Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son. Go ye and announce that He is born.

[One chorister, with a loud voice] Alleluia, alleluia. Now indeed we know that Christ is born on earth; sing ye all of Him, saying with the Prophets: A child is born to us.

The last sentence is the beginning of the introit.

The rubric which prescribes the use of white dalmatics by the deacons is the earliest reference to costume in the evolution of liturgical drama[2]. The flowing white robes were worn because the deacons represented women. From late Nativity plays we learn that they are the two midwives who are mentioned in the apocryphal gospel of St James. Christ Himself is not among the *dramatis personæ*, just as in the first type of the *Quem quæritis*[3]. The Virgin is also absent, but in subsequent versions her image appears. There is a primitive stage-setting: a crib (præsepe) stands behind the altar. It is not expressly prescribed in the rubrics, but its existence may be inferred, and it is known to be of very early origin[4].

The Christmas trope *Quem quæritis in præsepe* had quite an auspicious beginning, and in France it grew into the *Officium Pastorum*. In Germany, however, it led to carol-singing and other non-dramatic developments[5]. Even in France it was cast into the shade by the *Officium Stellæ* and *Prophetæ*, of which a word must be said here.

[1] Bodl. Douce MS. 222; Chambers, p. 10, n. 4.
[2] Creizenach, *Geschichte des Dramas*, I, 53.
[3] *Vide supra*, p. 204.
[4] Chambers, *loc. cit.*, II, 42 sqq.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 44. *Vgl.* Johannes Kessler, *Sabbata*, p. 57.

The *Officium Stellæ* (or simply *Stella*, also called *Officium Magorum*) has as its theme the visit of the Magi to the Christ-child, just as the *Officium Pastorum* deals with the visit of the shepherds. It is a dramatized offertory[1]; the *mise-en-scène* consists of a chandelier shaped like a star. The most rudimentary type of the *Stella* is that contained in a Limoges *ordinarium*. Three kings enter the church by the choir portal, singing a hymn, and carrying their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. They look up to the star, which is pulled along by a rope, and proceed to the altar, upon which they place their offerings. At this an angel makes known to them the birth of Christ.

A very much improved version was in use at Rouen. Here the wise men approach the altar from three different directions: north, south, and east. Instead of an angel two women, represented by clerks in dalmatics, announce the birth of the Saviour. We recognize the women as the midwives of the St Gall Christmas trope. Before an image of the Virgin the Magi prostrate themselves "as if to salute the Child," so the rubric tells us. After presenting their gifts and praying for a moment in silence, the three kings fall asleep. An angel warns them in a dream not to return to Herod[2].

Further scenes were added to this type of the *Stella*, e.g. the episode of Herod taking counsel with the scribes[3], and the dialogue between the Magi and Herod at Jerusalem[4]. In the person of the Jewish king the spirit of evil makes its entrance into liturgical drama[5]. The logical sequel is the introduction of Judas in the Passion play, and of the Devil in the *Prophetæ*. In this way dramatic conflict and also humour gained admission into sacred art. Another obvious method of amplifying the text was to bring in earlier events which bore on the divinity of the infant Christ. This led to the addition of scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary.

Just as tropes and sequences rapidly spread to all the chief festivals which could be adorned by them, we find dramatic dialogues, and later small dramas, springing up in the liturgical

[1] Chambers, p. 52. [2] Luke ii, 12. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, 4.

[4] Without this scene the angels' warning in the Rouen play was superfluous.

[5] Creizenach, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

text of all the principal feasts in the Christmas season. On Christmas Day there was the Play of the Shepherds, on Holy Innocents' the *Rachel*, and on Epiphany the Play of the Star (*Officium Stellæ*). So intimately connected were these three dramas that they soon united to form one. As Meyer aptly observes[1], one circumstance made their fusion almost inevitable, viz. the anomalous order of the feasts: December 25, the Nativity; December 28, Holy Innocents; January 6, Epiphany. The arrival of the three kings occasioned the massacre of the innocents, which had preceded it in the Calendar.

A natural consequence of the union of the Play of the Shepherds and the *Stella* was that an alteration had to be made in the Bible narrative. In St Luke's gospel the shepherds are described as seeing the new-born child in the manger. In Matthew the Magi visit the infant in a house, and Herod orders all children up to two years of age to be put to death. This implies that Jesus was then not so young as when the wise men came. In pictorial art the child is often portrayed in the stable during the visit of the shepherds, but inside a room on St Mary's knees at the time of the adoration of the Magi. In the new drama the unities of time and place assert themselves. The wise men come to Jesus immediately after the shepherds, and find him in the same surroundings, viz. in the stable.

The two scenes are combined with some ingenuity. On leaving the stable, the shepherds meet the three kings following the star. The newcomers ask:

> Say, shepherds, what did ye see?
> We saw an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes.

These two sentences are borrowed unchanged from the antiphons for matins on Christmas Day, but they fit the context admirably[2].

After the Play of the Shepherds and the *Stella* had coalesced, the next step was the absorption of the *Rachel*, a little play dealing with the slaughter of the innocents and the flight into Egypt, ending with the lamentations of Rachel. All that was

[1] *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 39.

[2] Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 40, is in error in supposing that these antiphons were peculiar to St Gall. As Dr W. H. Frere kindly informs me, they were general.

now needed to complete the Christmas cycle was to combine the new *Stella* trilogy (*Officium Pastorum*, *Stella*, *Rachel*) with the *Prophetæ*, or Play of the Prophets, which we will now discuss.

As one of the lessons for matins on Christmas Day, or some other day in the Christmas season—the date varied according to local usage—there is a pseudo-Augustinian sermon against the Jews[1]. The preacher reminds his opponents that, according to their law, the testimony of two witnesses was true. He then summons Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon the Elder, Zacharias, Elisabeth, and John the Baptist to bear witness for Christ, interpunctuating their words with violent diatribes against the impenitent Jews. In conclusion three heathens are called upon: Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyll.

This sermon had a pronounced dramatic character that did not pass unnoticed, and it was re-written in metrical dialogue in the eleventh century[2]. Once more it is the famous Abbey of St Martial at Limoges that can claim the honour of being first in the field. The Prophet play made a strong appeal to the anti-Semitic tendencies of the multitude, and hence it became extremely popular. In some cases it became merged in other plays; with those of the Fall or the Nativity. In other centres it gave rise to lesser works, e.g. a *Daniel*, and an Isaac play[3]. As a general rule it maintained its connection with the Feast of the Nativity, and it frequently united with the *Stella* to form a Christmas cycle. Of this phase a St Gall Nativity play is an excellent specimen. But we are anticipating: the St Gall drama is the product of a later age, in which Latin had given place to the vernacular.

The majority of the texts that we have treated so far are largely composed of passages taken bodily from the Bible or the liturgy. The invention of tropes had done much to diminish the natural prejudice against free invention or the use of non-liturgical sources, but the early dramatic dialogues were sung in the church, and were not as yet separated from the ritual. Even when whole plays came to be written by one compiler, the text was

[1] Creizenach, *loc. cit.*, pp. 61 sqq.
[2] Or perhaps the twelfth; cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 51.
[3] For these new *ludi* cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 53 sqq.

often derived, with very few modifications, from the Scriptures or the office-books. Among the latter we of course include the unofficial collections, e.g. the troparies. Certain sequences were specially adapted for insertion in liturgical plays. Thus, in the Holy Innocents' drama it was customary to place a lyrical passage as a paraphrase of the account of sorrowing Rachel given in the Gospel[1]. For this purpose Notker's sequence *Quid tu virgo-mater ploras, Rachel formosa* was used at Freising and Fleury[2]. In the same way the sequence *Victimæ paschali laudes* appears in the *Quem quæritis* from the thirteenth century onwards[3]. *Victimæ paschali laudes* had great dramatic potentialities, because the fourth and following verses are a dialogue between Mary Magdalene and the disciples:

Tell us, O Mary, what didst thou see on the way?
I saw the sepulchre of Christ Who is alive, and the glory of Him rising again, etc.

It was not merely in the liturgy that the dramatic instinct manifested itself in the Middle Ages. The desire for mimetic action expresses itself in some shape or form in every century. A curious example is to be found in the custom of electing a Boy Bishop (episcopus puerorum). It was part of a triple festival lasting from December 26 to December 28.

From the testimony of many original documents we know that the first day (St Stephen's) was devoted to the deacons, the second (St John's) to the priests, and the third (Holy Innocents) to the choir-boys[4]. It is noteworthy that the oldest known reference to the *triduum* is in the *Casus S. Galli*[5], and the event in question (the three days' visit of King Conrad in 911) can be accurately dated. The passage is well-known because of the pretty anecdote about the apples. King Conrad was staying at Constance as a guest of Bishop Salomo; having heard of the magnificent processions at St Gall, he went to the Abbey to see

[1] Matthew ii, 18.

[2] Creizenach, *loc. cit.*, p. 60. For other sequences in liturgical drama cf. Meyer, pp. 68 sqq.

[3] Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, pp. 29 sqq., 32. For the authorship of this sequence *vide Analecta Hymnica*, LIII, 14; Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1222.

[4] Chambers, I, 336–371.

[5] Ed. Meyer von Knonau, pp. 54 sqq.

them. "It will take long to tell how enjoyably he spent the days and nights; he was especially pleased with the procession of the boys on Holy Innocents' Day; he ordered apples to be thrown down in front of them in the middle of the floor of the church, and when he saw that not one, even of the smallest, moved or stretched out towards them, he marvelled at their discipline."

The allusion is to the day on which the pupils of the Abbey school indulged in their revels, but it may be referred from other evidence that on the two preceding days the deacons and priests had their innings. St Gall may have been the home of the festival out of which the Feast of Fools was destined to develop later, but this is by no means certain. Conrad's attention was particularly attracted by the pageant of the boys, and it was this part of the *triduum* that gained ground at the expense of the others. Finally the boys' revels had completely ousted those of the priests and deacons. Elsewhere the Boy Bishop grew in importance when the festival had been transferred to St Nicholas' Day. The complete turning of the tables, the temporary social revolution which unseated the mighty and enthroned the lowly, which made the last first, and the first last, the gorgeous pomp and delightful make-believe, must have been a glorious experience for the little ones.

Fortunately we have a very graphic account of the custom as it was observed at St Gall at the time of the Reformation[1]. It has become ampler and more complicated, but it is possible that at least some of the peculiar rites depicted dated from the tenth century[2]. A month before the great event, on the Sunday preceding St Catherine's Day (November 25), all the boys assembled in the presence of their Rector, and elected as their leader (abbas scholasticus) the one whom they considered to excel all others in diligence and good conduct. The youthful abbot[3] then selected two of his comrades as his "chaplains"; they climbed on a table and sang the hymn: "Eia, eia, virgo Deum genuit"; meanwhile

[1] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, III, 260.

[2] This does not exclude the possibility of interruptions and restorations of the old tradition.

[3] In cathedral cities the *abbas scholasticus* was, of course, replaced by the *episcopus puerorum*; the latter may, however, have been the earlier form.

the others gave him presents of bread and wine: a symbolical act of homage. On December 13 the Rector of the school conducted the boys' leader and his subjects in solemn procession towards the door of the church, while the choir sang the *Te Deum*. Before entering the sacred edifice, the boy abbot and his chaplains took off their shoes and gowns, and at a given signal they had to race at full speed through the church to the altar. At Rouen their goal was the altar of the Holy Innocents[1], and in the Abbey of St Gall there was also one dedicated to the children of Bethlehem, but there is no allusion to it in connection with this festival. The reason for this unseemly haste was that if any of the other boys succeeded in catching their leader, he had to forfeit four measures of wine, and was not allowed to ascend the altar steps. If he was fleet-footed enough to escape his pursuers, he had the privilege of sitting in an armchair till the end of the office, and of looking on while the other boys were pelted from above with apples[2], pears, and flatcakes, or drenched with water.

All this was but a preparation for the festival proper, which began on the afternoon of St John's Day (December 27). The service of second vespers was conducted entirely by the scholars. Their head took the place of the real abbot in the church; a decorated praying-stool was set apart for his use. The choir was composed entirely of boys. After vespers the procession left the church with the juvenile abbot at its head. Then he once more ascended the table with his chaplains, sang several antiphons to which the choir responded, favoured the company with curious dances and capers, gave the people a triple benediction, skipped off the table, and retired. In the night he returned to the church in solemn state, preceded by four torchbearers[3], to celebrate vigils[4].

On Holy Innocents' Day the proceedings were repeated with even greater *éclat*. The boys sang the entire canonical office and the choral portions of the mass. Special tropes and sequences

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[2] Was this custom initiated by King Conrad?

[3] Schubiger, who cites Von Arx as his authority, speaks of two torchbearers. Von Arx has four, *loc. cit.*, p. 261.

[4] It is strange that the little ones were allowed this privilege. At Rouen their sway ended with Vespers.

appropriate to the occasion, adorned the ritual. The *lectiones* or readings in the refectory during meal-times were also taken over by the boys on this day[1]. Thus, with ceremonial pomp and gay pageantry, with feasting and jubilation, the younger inmates of the Abbey kept up their special festival. It was abolished, together with many other old customs, in the middle of the sixteenth century[2].

Curiously enough we do not hear any complaints at St Gall about the abuses to which riotous merriment usually gives rise. In many parts of France and Germany repeated protests were made by the ecclesiastical authorities about the license associated with the Boy Bishop ceremonies. The custom degenerated into a wild carnival in which everything was permitted. Libellous songs were sung, sacred rites were made the object of profane mimicry, acts of physical violence, even homicide, were not unknown[3].

Another annual spectacle, entirely religious in spirit, had the effect of stimulating the dramatic instinct, even if it did not contribute to dramatic development, namely the Palm Sunday ceremonies. These customs dated from the ninth century or earlier, and survived at St Gall till 1435[4]. There was a procession from the Abbey Church to St Mang's similar to those which took place on St Mark's Day and in Rogation Week; the clergy carried a chest representing the tabernacle and containing the consecrated host. Palms were blessed in the Abbey Church, and Christ's entry to Jerusalem was acted in dumb show.

In the treaty drawn up in 1509 by the Papal Legate Achilles de Grasseis, to compose the differences between the monastery and the town of St Gall, it is provided that the consecration of palms, and the customary celebrations and processions, are to remain the prerogatives of the Abbey[5]. Twenty years later the Protestant reformer Johannes Kessler described the customs, of which he had been an eye-witness, as follows: "On Palm Sunday the palms are blessed and consecrated; afterwards they are used as potent spells against ghosts and storms. On the same day

[1] *Casus*, p. 58.
[2] Von Arx, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 260.
[3] Chambers, *loc. cit.*, pp. 366 sqq.
[4] Von Arx, *loc. cit.*, II, 460, n. *a*. Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St Gallens*, p. 68.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

with all manner of gestures they enact the story of how Christ rode to Jerusalem, and was received there, when He was to suffer."[1]

Among the various reforms instituted at St Gall in consequence of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), was the abolition of this Palm Sunday ceremony. We now hear for the first time that in the scene portraying the entry into Jerusalem, an effigy of Christ riding on a wooden ass (known as the *Palmesel*) was employed. Clothes were laid on the ground, and flowers were thrown at it, as it passed[2]. The *Palmesel* has a long history. Its origin is to be sought in the French "Feast of Fools" or "Feast of Asses," which was properly the revel of the subdeacons, being a fourth day of rejoicing added to the *triduum*. It seems that the authorities of the Church tried to divert the ribald rites of the *Festum Asinorum* into the safer channel of liturgical drama by using the ass as Balaam's beast of burden in a new scene interpolated in the *Prophetæ*[3]. In some places the *Palmesel* had other functions. It stood beside the crib in the Nativity play and was a "stage property" of the Flight into Egypt. At Hamburg the ass appeared in the Palm Sunday procession and also in an Epiphany play[4].

Did the *Palmesel* figure in any of these other ceremonies at St Gall? The Feast of Asses was essentially a French institution. There are isolated instances of its occurrence in England, and one in Bohemia, but only two cases have been found in Germany[5]. It was largely confined to the cathedral cities, in which the minor clergy were a numerous class. It is therefore unlikely that it was observed at St Gall. On the other hand the Abbey possessed a Nativity play[6] in which Balaam is one of the characters, and two scenes are devoted to the adoration by the shepherds and the flight into Egypt respectively. Probably the ass would be called into requisition for this drama. The *Palmesel* was a well-known figure in South Germany and Switzerland. In the Landesmuseum at Berne two specimens are still to be seen[7], and

[1] *Sabbata*, ed. E. Egli and R. Schoch, p. 53.
[2] Von Arx, III, 259 sqq. [3] Chambers, II, 57.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 333. Balaam and his ass are in the Benedictbeuren Nativity play (thirteenth century); this is probably the oldest instance in Germany.
[5] *Ibid.*, 318 sqq. [6] *Vide infra.* [7] Kessler's *Sabbata*, p. 540, n. *q*.

three are exhibited in the collection of the Barfüsserkirche at Basel[1].

There is not sufficient data for us to trace in detail the history of the liturgical drama at St Gall. Some events must have had a prejudicial effect, e.g. the Cluniac reform under Abbot Nortpert (1034–1072); but the new régime did not put an end to the writing of sequences, because a new prose *Laude celebri* was composed in honour of St Remacle, the patron of Cluny[2]. It is, however, difficult to see how any kind of liturgical play was possible in the stormy days of Ulrich III (1077–1121). Although many incapable or turbulent abbots ruled after him, there were others, like Ulrich IV (1167–1199), whose efforts were successfully directed towards regaining the lost ground.

Little help can be derived from the process of analogy with other monasteries. Liturgical drama did not develop everywhere on the same lines; there is endless diversity and almost inextricable confusion. There existed in a given centre, at one and the same time, religious plays of quite different provenance and age, let us say a Latin *Quem quæritis* and a Passion play in the vernacular: the most primitive and the most advanced types of mediæval drama[3]. Influences cross and re-cross in the most perplexing manner; versions are enlarged, abridged, adapted, re-written, translated, until the original form cannot be recognized at all.

After many vicissitudes, the drama was revived at St Gall in the fourteenth, and again in the first half of the fifteenth century. The form taken by the second if not both of these revivals was that of the infusion of new life from without. The first synchronizes with the rise of the town into importance. The characteristic feature of both is the representation of plays in German. Dialogues like *Quem quæritis* were written in the first instance to beautify the liturgy. Plays in the vernacular were the result of a didactic purpose: to strengthen the faith of the laity, to make them acquainted with the Bible narrative, to instruct them in the mysteries of the Christian religion. They were Sunday

[1] Chambers, I, 334; *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, I, 520–1; Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, p. 359.

[2] Werner, *Notkers Sequenzen*, p. 37.

[3] Cf. W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 31–3.

schools on an enormous scale. It was a bold thing to show the ignorant multitude in symbolical form the conflict of good and evil, of angels and demons, of heaven and hell. It was a still bolder step to exhibit before an awed assemblage the sight of God incarnate and His life on earth. Once embarked on this course, the drama could not turn back till it had become vast enough to embrace every aspect of human life.

The main subject on which the drama of the fourteenth century concentrated was that sublimest of all themes, the life and death of Christ. The Abbey Library contains a version which is of the greatest importance for the student of literature[1]. It is the oldest existing Passion play in the German language. It was not written by St Gall monks, because it is in a Central German dialect; its home is the Wetterau in Hessen, or southern Nassau, both of which districts are in the neighbourhood of Frankfort-on-the-Main. It was written about the middle of the fourteenth century, and certainly after 1330[2].

The St Gall Passion play is comparatively short; it consists of 1340 lines only. Among the chief scenes are the following: the Marriage at Cana, the Baptism, the Temptation in the Wilderness, the Crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection. St Augustine speaks the prologue, and frequently interrupts the dialogue to make edifying remarks, commenting on what has just happened, or foreshadowing what is next to come.

This drama is not the original, but a revision of an earlier text, which was also the source of the old Frankfort Passion play, the *Dirigierrolle* of Baldemar von Peterweil[3]. Mone, the first editor of the St Gall version, recognized that some long-drawn-out scenes, such as the healing of the man born blind, the triple appearance of Mary Magdalene in her unregenerate days, and the diffuse moralizings of St Augustine, are later interpolations. The older portions of the play are characterized by the conciseness of the dialogue, the numerous fragments of Latin,

[1] Codex 919, pp. 197–219. Text in Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, I, 72–128.

[2] Wolter, *Marburg Dissertation*, 1910; *vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 346.

[3] Written about 1350. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, pp. 326 sqq. Cf. Petersen in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LIX, 83–126.

and finally they correspond to the Frankfort *Dirigierrolle*, from which the interpolated scenes are naturally absent[1]. There are therefore two distinct strata in this version: (i) the transition from a Latin Passion play to one in the vernacular; (ii) later additions in the vernacular only.

For the sake of convenience, let us call the lost original A, the St Gall play G, and the *Dirigierrolle* D[2]. A was based principally on the gospel text; there are no signs that any earlier play was used, although the plan and general arrangement were certainly borrowed. The text was a free paraphrase in German of selections from St John's Gospel. In many cases the first few words of Latin sentences seem to have been left above the translation, as is the case in G. Or A may have been a parallel version in two languages, the Latin being abbreviated in G. The next stage, which is exemplified by the St Gall Nativity play, is marked by the total omission of the Latin words, which had become unnecessary.

In A, G, and D the choral songs are in Latin, and are only indicated by cues. They serve as a connecting link between the scenes. Thus, before the Temptation in the Wilderness, the choir sing *Ductus est Jesus in desertum*; after her conversion, Mary Magdalene sings the St Gall sequence *Laus tibi, Christe, qui humilis homo*[3]. A began with St Augustine's disputation with the Jews, which is in the *Prophetæ*, the first link in the Nativity cycle[4]. In G this prelude was cut down to a prologue, but by way of compensation remarks by St Augustine were intercalated between the different scenes. D lacks these interpolations, but has the disputation scene in a modified form. The sermon against the Jews was originally connected with Christmas, and the emphasis was laid on the Messianic character of Christ; in D the prophecies of His passion are cited in order to confute the cavils of Jews and infidels. This is only one of the many divergences between G and D. The latter has other sources besides A, notably a Middle High German didactic poem, *Die Erlösung*.

G is the oldest Passion play in existence with which the

[1] Froning, p. 331.
[2] Cf. the comparative table in Froning, pp. 998–1004.
[3] In D only (l. 136).
[4] *Vide supra*, p. 213.

Prophetæ have been incorporated, and in which Old Testament characters, like Adam, have been introduced in the Harrowing of Hell[1]. For the further development to the complete cycle depicting the whole history of mankind from the first disobedience to the final redemption, two other steps are required: firstly, the story of the Fall must be prefixed in order to explain the presence of Adam in Hell; and secondly, the Nativity play must be interpolated in order to complete the story of Christ's life. In G the sinful nature of humanity is exhibited in the Magdalene scenes, which are wanting in D, as they were in A.

There are many other interesting features in G. The anti-Semitic tendency of St Augustine's diatribes is further emphasized by the stage villain, Rufus, a red-headed Jew, who buffets Christ, bribes the soldiers to torture Him with greater cruelty, and hands Him a sponge soaked in myrrh and gall, when He is suffering on the cross[2]. This character, who is not mentioned in D, must have been popular at St Gall, because the citizens of the town had organized a pogrom in 1348. A pestilence was then decimating the population, and it was said that the Jews had caused it by poisoning the wells. The report was readily believed and a number of Jews were burnt alive. In 1349 King Charles IV gave the town an amnesty for this barbarous action, and when he became the Abbot's guest a few years later, he was rewarded for his clemency by the presentation of relics of St Gall and St Othmar[3].

Several legendary episodes have been utilized in the play. Martha admonishes her sister to lead a better life. Longinus has his sight restored by the blood flowing from Christ's side. The words written by Jesus on the sand, when the adulteress is brought before Him, are explained as being an enumeration of the sins of the scribes who were present. This tradition is recorded by Nicolas of Lyra[4] in his *Postillæ*. This commentator's account of Pilate's dream as an inspiration of the devil also finds a parallel in G.

[1] Chambers, II, 77. For the Harrowing of Hell *vide* pp. 4, 73 sqq.; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 61, 98 sqq.

[2] Creizenach, I, 114.

[3] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, II, 31; T. Schiess, *Geschichte der Stadt St Gallen*, p. 52.

[4] Creizenach, I, 194. Nicolas, however, is not the source, as he died in 1340.

There is another passage in the St Gall Passion play that is not canonical in origin, and naturally in the vernacular, viz. the three verses sung by the three Marys[1], relating that they have brought ointment and are coming to anoint the body of Christ. This takes the place of what is technically known as the *Krämerszene*, i.e. an episode in which the three women purchase ointment from the *unguentarius*, who soon becomes a humorous character[2]. This necessitated the erection of a merchant's booth in the church, to which some ecclesiastics took exception, and rightly so, because the scene became more and more secular. It would seem that in the St Gall version the original scene was cut down to three verses.

In conclusion we note that both G and D include the famous Easter sequence *Victimæ paschali laudes* and the *Quem quæritis* dialogue. The latter is mostly in German, but some passages are left untranslated, which shows that it was not properly assimilated. Thus we return to the starting-point of our investigations. It will now be clear in what way the Resurrection drama arose out of the ceremonies performed on Easter morning; similarly the Passion plays developed out of the Good Friday ritual, i.e. the burial of the cross. The trio of plays (A, G, D) we have just been considering are composed of three elements: (i) the *Prophetæ*; (ii) a Passion play; (iii) a Resurrection drama.

A considerable advance is shown by another valuable relic in the St Gall library, viz. the oldest Christmas play in the German language[3]. Like G it dates from the fourteenth century, but it is written in the dialect of St Gall[4]. It is comparatively short, having only 1081 lines. It consists of two parts: a Prophet play and a Nativity drama. In the former, each Prophet introduces himself, and the services of St Augustine are dispensed with. After Moses, Balaam, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Micah, have uttered their prophecies, the Nativity play

[1] Mone, I, 126.

[2] Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 112; cf. also pp. 91, 119. It is, of course, the whole Resurrection play that Meyer designates as the "Zehnsilberspiel," not one scene of it, as Mr Chambers (p. 33, n. 5) erroneously supposes.

[3] Codex 966, pp. 129–169. Text in Mone, I, 143–8; critical edition by Klapper, *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, No. 21 (1904). Cf. Creizenach, I, 115–16.

[4] Klapper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6 sqq.

follows. It consists of a Shepherd play, a *Stella*, and a *Rachel*, fused into a single drama. The scenes represented are as follows: the Marriage of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Visitation, Joseph's Dream, the Shepherds and the Angels, the Adoration by the Shepherds, by the Daughters of Zion, and by the Three Kings, Herod and the Messenger, the Flight to Egypt, Rachel's Lament, and the Death of Herod. The last episode is only reported by the angel who summons Joseph to return to Israel.

The St Gall Nativity play is closely related to a Benedictbeuren text, and their common source is the Freising *Stella*[1], to which the Prophet play was added as a prelude. The St Gall Passion play had a considerable admixture of Latin, e.g. in the choral songs. The Nativity play is entirely in German; no traces of a Latin original can be discovered in the text. Moreover, it was all spoken, and not sung. Even the stage-directions are in the vernacular, and in this respect the drama is unique in the literature of the fourteenth century[2]. Was it acted by monks or laymen? The presence of Latin in the Passion play shows quite clearly that the production was in the hands of the clergy, whose number would perhaps be augmented by the pupils of the school; the monks would sing the choral portions. It is true that the St Gall chapter shrank to very small dimensions in the fourteenth century, but the clergy who served the various churches in the town were always available. It is by no means certain that the representation took place outside the church, because a slight amount of burlesque (the soldier scenes, Rufus the Jew) was not deemed out of place in a consecrated building[3]. In the Nativity play secularization has proceeded much further. The influence of the popular epic, which in the earlier text comes to the surface in a turn of phrase, or a melodramatic scene[4], is here very much in evidence, especially in the Herod scenes. The messenger is a conventional type out of the repertory of the

[1] A Latin play of the eleventh century. For the textual relationship between the three plays *vide* Köppen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Weihnachtsspiele*, p. 35; Chambers, II, 49–50; cf. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 41–44.

[2] Creizenach, I, 127.

[3] *Ibid.*, 114, 126.

[4] E.g. the conversations between Pilate and Rufus, between the messenger and Pilate's wife.

Spielmann; the Jewish king with his fierce, almost ludicrous outbursts of anger, might have stepped from the pages of *König Rother*.

The two texts which we have been discussing point to a quickening of dramatic life at St Gall in the fourteenth century. A marked decline followed. In the middle of the following century the Abbey had sunk to the lowest depths of degradation. Its finances were in hopeless confusion; the church and conventual buildings were in ruins; ignorance and profligacy reigned where scholarship and holiness of life had once been held in esteem; the Abbot's *palatium* itself was a haunt of courtesans[1]. The energy of Abbot Eglolf and the vigilance of the Council of Constance led to the restoration of conventual discipline, and a thorough reform of the monastery. In 1430 a colony of monks from Hirschfeld in Hessen set to work with such zeal that Abbot Eglolf became alarmed for his own prerogatives[2].

We have already seen how the Hessian monks brought with them the text of a Latin Resurrection play. This signifies a retrogression in dramatic evolution from the fourteenth-century vernacular dramas. But this is not the only drama that found its way to St Gall at this time. There is also an Ascension play in German, written in the fifteenth century[3]. It is a comparatively short version, and the scene of doubting Thomas, which is often found in Passion plays, is prefixed as a kind of introduction. As a Tyrolese manuscript of the same date contains a text of several thousand lines, it is at least conceivable that the St Gall Ascension play is an abridged version of a longer original.

The second revival of the drama at St Gall coincided, like the first, with a period of great prosperity in the history of the town[4]. Until the end of the century the Abbey also continued to thrive; during the reign of Abbot Ulrich Rosch (1468–1491) excellent progress was made. As regards the drama, the course of events is difficult to follow. In 1440 the Hirschfeld monks left and the institutions they brought with them were abolished. Whether

[1] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, II, 246–7; *Kurze Chronik des Gotzhaus St Gallen*, p. 11.
[2] Von Arx, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.
[3] Codex 1006, pp. 33–44. Text in Mone, I, 251–264.
[4] Von Arx, *loc. cit.*, II, 296.

the Resurrection play shared this fate is uncertain. Shortly after their departure, new reforms were introduced on the model of Castell in the Palatinate, and Sublacus in Italy[1].

The only reference, as far as I am aware, to subsequent developments, apart from those already mentioned[2], is that in Kessler's *Sabbata*[3]. In his enumeration of "popish superstitions" this writer asserts:

On the Friday after [Palm Sunday], which is called Good Friday, they do not celebrate an ordinary, but a special mass. Then they consecrate bread, make it quite potent and holy, that men may eat it; before divine service they ring no other bells but wooden clappers. Then the so-called religious have enough to do; they take a wooden Christ off the cross with songs set apart for this end. O what worship, what kissings and bowings are shown to this effigy, just as when Nicodemus upheld the real body of Christ. (Blondus makes mention of this custom, Book 9, Deca. 1.) Finally they carry the image and lay it in a prepared grave; there it lies till Easter morning. Day and night women watch beside it with many burning candles—who knows whether the idol may not rise again?—together with scholars and priests, who without intermission sing the Latin psalter through and through. And if the idol in the grave were not insentient, it would be deaf in the head, so woeful is the song bellowed by the hoarse priests.

On the Saturday, which is Easter eve, the clergy rest from their office, the mass, prepare for the resurrection festival, bless or consecrate holy water for each other, burn the old chrism, that is, consecrated oil, and bless the fire, of which everyone takes a little to his house, as a protection against evil spirits and conflagration. They lay bare the idols again[4]; they have now become worthy of seeing them face to face. In the Easter night at matins, when the image is raised up, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, buried from adoration of the true body of Christ, is taken away, many rejoice and say that Christ is risen. In the same night the high priest (sic) consecrates the cakes, which custom doubtless comes from the unleavened bread of the Jews.

Easter Day is observed in the most magnificent and splendid fashion with organ music, piping, and singing, censing, and the exhibition of all kinds of church ornaments. And whereas we, especially in the last week, have mortified and weakened the flesh by fasting and sadness, the preachers have a custom of relating in their service a ridiculous farce and amusing fable, called the Easter play, that would be low enough for a rogues' tavern, in order that the sad hearts may be induced to laugh and to cast off their depression.

[1] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, II, 249.
[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 208–9. [3] Ed. by E. Egli and R. Schoch, pp. 53 sqq.
[4] The images were all veiled at the beginning of Lent.

A PAGE FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MORALITY PLAY

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From thenceforth the old viciousness, which had been kept in check for a time by forced piety, once more rouses itself, but not so openly and shamelessly as after the feast of the Ascension, when Christ, having left the earth, is no longer present to witness our wickedness, but has ascended into heaven, as though it were not easier for Christ to see the godless life of men from heaven, if one might speak in this way[1].

Four different ceremonies are described in this passage from the *Sabbata*: (i) the *adoratio crucis*, or "creeping to the cross"; (ii) the *depositio*, or burial; (iii) the *elevatio* or elevation of the cross; (iv) the Easter play. Two points are noteworthy. In the first place the *elevatio* formed part of the office of matins, and apparently the hymn *Christ ist erstanden* was sung by the congregation. But it is an effigy of Christ that is buried, not a cross. It is not quite certain whether the Easter play alluded to by Kessler is the fourteenth-century Passion play, because he lays special stress on the grossness of the drama, whereas the Passion play was, in the main, serious and edifying. Of course we must make allowances for Protestant prejudice against the drama.

Unfortunately the texts mentioned above do not enable us to form an adequate conception of St Gall drama in the Middle Ages. There must have been many others that are now lost. Two fragments, one of a "Marienklage," or *planctus*[2], and the other of a comic play of some kind[3], have escaped destruction, but their exact character remains unexplained. The library also possesses a manuscript containing five morality plays, one of which is related to the *Jüngerer Totentanz*. The manuscript[4], which is illustrated by water-colour sketches, was written at Freiburg in Breisgau in the year 1467, and purchased for the Abbey in 1699. An Easter play that originally followed the "Marienklage" is now lost[5].

At St Gall the liturgical drama long survived the Reformation, nor was the learned theatre of the Renaissance without influence.

[1] "Sam Christo von himel herab uf das gottlos wesen der menschen ze sechen nit gelegner sije, so man uf dis wisen reden solt."

[2] Codex 1006, pp. 31–2. *Vide* Mone, I, 198.

[3] Codex 1006, p. 45. *Vide* Mone, p. 264.

[4] Codex 985, pp. 381–419. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, pp. 372–3. Four of the plays were edited from other MSS. by Rieger, in *Germania*, XVI, 173–211 (1871).

[5] Mone, p. 251.

We read that in 1550 the students of the Abbey school produced a Daniel play. In 1625 they acted a Greek drama[1]. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century an Easter sepulchre was erected in Holy week: a custom still observed to-day. In the year 1647 Abbot Pius spent the sum of thirty-three florins on the construction of a "theatrum" to be placed in the choir of the Abbey church. A joiner from Rorschach made the scaffolding, and a painter was made responsible for depicting the clouds and rocks. The sepulchre was lit up with fifty-eight lamps. Abbot Leodegar had it renovated in 1702 at a cost of twenty-eight florins. In 1732 a very ambitious project was formed for the construction of a stage with three storeys. On Ascension Day an effigy of Christ, standing on a mound covered with flowers, was raised by cords to the ceiling of the church. In 1642 Abbot Pius ordered a "Salvator pro festo Ascensionis."[2]

A miracle play was performed at St Gall as late as 1680, when the relics of Sts. Erasmus, Hyacinth, Bacchus and Sergius were brought from Rome. It was the time when the catacombs in Rome were being opened: the bodies that were found were named almost at random, and a number of them were sent to Switzerland by a Swiss officer of the Papal Guard. The arrival of the relics at St Gall was celebrated by a procession of twenty-one groups of persons in costume, and a drama in five scenes was performed in honour of the Roman saints[3].

Nothing has yet been said about the æsthetic value of the liturgical drama. The Latin plays were principally based on the text of the Vulgate and of the liturgy. Skill is often shown in the arrangement of the material[4], but there was no scope for originality in diction. The writers of vernacular plays had much greater liberty of action. In spite of this circumstance, the liturgical plays written or performed at St Gall are devoid of artistic unity. They are composed of various elements rudely combined and imperfectly assimilated. We must not look for symmetry, good proportions, beauty of diction, or any other characteristics

[1] Von Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, III, 265, notes (*b*), (*d*).
[2] Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche*, pp. 22–3.
[3] Hardegger, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[4] Cf. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 106.

of great works of art. It is only fair to say that the writers did not attempt to secure such results. Their one preoccupation was to make their audience acquainted with the Bible story, and to stir their religious emotions as profoundly as possible. The story was in itself moving enough to produce the desired effect without the adventitious aid of art. We must also remember that when the time came for original dramatic writing, St Gall had ceased to be, in the full sense of the term, a centre of literary culture.

CHAPTER IX

LITERATURE, EXCLUDING THE DRAMA

The people of Thurgau, from whom the monks of St Gall were chiefly recruited, had in common with all other Swabians a vast store of oral tradition. But very few of their popular stories and melodies were ever fixed in permanent form. The only men who were in a position to write them down were precisely those who were least likely to do so. For the attitude of the clergy to the old pagan poetry was definitely hostile.

Such fragments as have come down to us are of great historical importance, for they represent, however imperfectly, the unwritten literature of the pre-Christian era. In some cases they have survived in the form of a Latin passage in prose or verse. The legend of Walther and Hildegunde provided Ekkehard I with the theme of an epic poem. Notker Balbulus quotes a satirical rhyme by a wandering minstrel in his *Gesta Caroli Magni*[1] and composes a Latin poem about a wonderful ram, in imitation of the Teutonic *Lügenmärchen*[2].

But no less than five poems were written down by St Gall monks in the original. Various *genres* are represented: there is a lyric, a short satirical poem, two fragments of folk-songs, and a magic spell. The latter has come down to us in a manuscript of the tenth century now at Zürich[3]. It is sufficiently described by the title "Ad signandum domum contra diabolum." It is rather curious that by the mere addition of this Latin rubric, the pagan charm is converted into a Christian form of benediction. It is in alliterative verse, the rhyme being perhaps accidental, and runs as follows:

Uuola, wiht, taz tu uueist taz tu uuiht heizist,
Taz tu neuueist noch nechanst cheden chnospinci.

[1] Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, Vol. I, No. VIII, p. 21; cf. II, 59–61.

[2] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Poetæ Ævi Carol.*, II, 474–5.

[3] Detailed description, bibliography, and text in Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 389–394.

[It is well for thee, wight, that thou knowest thy name is "wight," and that thou neither knowest, nor canst pronounce the word "chnospinci."]

The last word has been explained as the name of some particular species of wight or supernatural being[1]. The goblin cannot pronounce either his own name or that of a sacred person. Steinmeyer thinks that it means "destruction."[2] There is no doubt about the general situation. An evil spirit, who is in the habit of bewitching houses, is to be exorcized by a word of power. The charm is repeated in a loud voice, as befits a categorical command. When he hears himself called upon by name, the demon is compelled to obey the speaker.

Although Bächthold was certainly wrong in his interpretation of the spell as a "Milchsegen" (benediction of milk), he may have been right in his theory that the monk who wrote it down had either seen it inscribed on some cattle-shed or hut in the neighbourhood of the Abbey, or he had heard it from some peasant and thought it worthy of preservation[3].

Another incantation, intended to cure lameness in horses, is assigned to St Gall by one of its editors[4]. I am not aware that there is any evidence for this, but it certainly originated in Eastern Switzerland[5]. The particular type of demon involved is not a goblin, but an incubus. Here again he is called upon by name. In language which is perhaps intentionally obscure, he is sternly ordered to flee to the mountains and lakes, from whence he came.

A tenth century St Gall manuscript in the Royal Library of Brussels contains a mutilated fragment of verse with both rhyme and alliteration[6]. As only the first nine words have been preserved, this poem of "The Hart and the Hind" remains one of the unsolved problems of literature.

[1] Unwerth u. Siebs, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zur Mitte des* 11. *Jahrhunderts*, p. 52.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 389, n. 1.

[3] *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, II (Anmerkungen), p. 14. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, I, 111, also holds this view, *vide* Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

[4] Piper in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XIII, 455.

[5] Wackernagel suggests Schaffhausen in his *Deutsches Lesebuch*, p. 830; cf. Steinmeyer u. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, IV, 673.

[6] Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, No. lxxix, p. 399.

In the next poem we have to consider, alliteration has disappeared and is definitely replaced by rhyme[1]. It is to be found in a ninth-century manuscript written at St Gall[2]. It has therefore been suggested that at this time popular German poetry had already adopted rhyme[3]. The manuscript certainly dates from the ninth century, but the poem is an addition in a later hand[4]. It consists of two couplets only:

Liubene ersazta sine gruz unde kab sine tohter uz;
to cham aber Starzfidere prahta imo sina tohter widere.
[Liubene prepared his beer and gave his daughter in marriage; but then Starzfidere came again and brought his daughter back to him.]

The poem is evidently a satire. A peasant named Liubene has given a banquet to his friends in honour of his daughter's marriage. But soon afterwards the young lady is ignominiously brought back by Starzfidere[5], who is either the bridegroom or "the best man," for reasons that add nothing to her reputation. Another short satirical poem has been printed from the same manuscript[6].

Such gibes in verse were not uncommon at St Gall, as we know from a passage in Notker's *Psalter*[7]. The *magister* translates Psalm lxviii, 13: "Et in me psallebant, qui bibebant vinum." Then he adds the characteristic comment: "So tûont noh kenûoge, singent fone démo, der ín íro únreht wéret" (So do many even to-day; they sing songs about those who oppose their errors).

Finally we have to consider two poems quoted by Notker III in his *Rhetoric*[8]. Instead of following the traditional method of

[1] Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, No. lxxxii, p. 401.
[2] St Gall Codex 30.
[3] Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
[4] Bächthold, *op. cit.*, II (Anmerkungen), p. 6. It may be pointed out that the forms *Liubene*, *sine tohter*, *cham* for *Liubwini*, *sina tohter*, *quam*, all point to a later date than the ninth century.
[5] *Starzfidere* is evidently a nickname; it means "Feather-tail" and probably denoted a conceited person.
[6] K. Müllenhoff, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XVIII (1875), 261–2; Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 401.
[7] Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, II, 155.
[8] Printed in Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, No. xxxx, p. 153; Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *op. cit.*, I, 55–7; cf. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, I, 236.

explaining figures of speech by examples from Latin authors, Notker chooses two of his illustrations from German popular poetry. The first, a passage describing a combat between two warriors, is given as a specimen of *elocutio figurata*. The second illustrates the meaning of *hyperbole*. It tells of a boar which runs along with a spear in its side: "Its feet are as large as waggon-loads; its bristles are as high as the trees of the forest; its tusks are twelve yards long." The same writer quotes a number of proverbs as examples of logical propositions[1].

The vernacular passages we have been dealing with are like echoes of the outer world that have momentarily invaded the deep peace of the cloisters. The monks have their own literature, more suited in character to the religious life than these profane utterances.

The first original literary work produced at St Gall was the old *Vita S. Galli*. So far as we can judge from the mutilated fragments that have come down to us[2], it was in the main a sober narrative of the Saint's life and the miracles performed after his death. But one strongly suspects that this prosaic style gave place on occasion to passages of real poetic beauty, and that the episodes in Wettinus relating to the spirits of the mountains and the lakes[3] were taken from the *Vita primitiva*. If I am not mistaken, these are typical products of the Celtic imagination, and not, as Jakob Grimm would have us believe[4], specimens of old Teutonic folk-lore.

But the old *Vita* was the work of strangers. It was not till the second half of the eighth century that the monks of St Gall numbered an author among their own countrymen. Winithar, otherwise known as Paulinus, was a man of great industry. Many are the manuscripts at St Gall and elsewhere that are in his hand. He twice copied the *Versus de Asia et de Universi Mundi Rota*. In 761 he transcribed the fourteen Epistles of St Paul, adding four original hexameters in praise of Charle-

[1] Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *op. cit.*, I, 57–9; Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, pp. 68–71 (Munich, 1922).

[2] *Vitæ Galli Vetustissimæ Fragmentum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV, 251–6.

[3] *Vita S. Galli*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, pp. 11–12, 17–18.

[4] *Deutsche Mythologie*, Göttingen, 1844, pp. 466–7.

magne[1], and prefixing an address to his fellow-monks. He exhorts them to follow in the footsteps of St Peter and St Paul, to persevere in well-doing, in penance, and in the observation of the Rule.

The unassuming character of the first biography of St Gall did not satisfy the ambitions of a later generation, and accordingly the Reichenau monk Wettinus, who died in 824, was summoned to revise it. As he had very little new matter to add, he contented himself with making the language as florid as possible. The earlier *Vita* is mentioned as late as the seventeenth century by Jodokus Metzler, the librarian of the Abbey. It then disappears completely till the beginning of the twentieth century when some mutilated fragments were discovered. The earlier *Vita* is much to be preferred on account of its clearness and simplicity. Yet with all its faults, Wettinus' biography[2] of the patron represents the best prose which the combined forces of St Gall and Reichenau were then capable of achieving. Its Latinity is much better than that of contemporary charters, being relatively free from that admixture of Romance forms which had characterized Latin prose at St Gall since the time of Othmar[3].

Of the two monasteries Reichenau certainly held the foremost place in the first half of the ninth century, although the tables were turned later. In fact Walafrid Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau, may be said to have founded the St Gall school of poetry. Having studied at Fulda under Rabanus Maurus and at the Court School, he had come under the influence of the Carolingian revival of letters[4].

Learned literature began with Iso (c. 830–871), who wrote a commentary on Prudentius[5], and after the advent of Moengal and his Irish friends about 850, the school of St Gall rapidly reached its full stature. The outstanding personality of the period is Notker Balbulus, a pupil of Moengal and Iso.

[1] Ed. Dümmler in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Poetæ Latini*, I, 89–90. For Winithar *vide* S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 117–19; Anton Chroust, *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie I, Lieferung XIV.

[2] Ed. Meyer von Knonau in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, Vol. IX.

[3] Henning, *Über die St Galler Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen*, in *Quellen und Forschungen*, III (1874), 159.

[4] Paul von Winterfeld, *Die Dichterschule St Gallens*, p. 404.

[5] *Vide* Meyer von Knonau, *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 121, n. 418.

No other St Gall monk is better known to us than this shy, meditative soul. Besides the few details furnished by his own works, we have Ekkehard's immortal description of him. We know his handwriting because he penned a short passage in a Biblical manuscript[1].

His slow gait and emaciated body, "æger, vitiisque plenus,"[2] bore testimony to his long vigils and fasts. His inveterate stammer and toothless mouth heightened the impression of premature old age. But the feeble form was tenanted by a strong and indomitable spirit. He was indefatigable in prayer and in study, scrupulous in the fulfilment of his religious duties[3]. He enforced discipline, not by the rod, as Ratpert did, but by precept and example[4]. His quiet rebukes were sometimes much more effective than angry violence, as an impudent stranger once learned to his cost.

During the stay of Charles the Fat at the monastery, one of the King's chaplains saw Notker poring over the *Psalter*, as was his wont. The youth thought he would indulge in a jest at the old man's expense. "See," he said to his companions, "that monk is said to be the greatest scholar in the whole Empire. But if you like, I will make a fool of him; I will ask him something that he certainly does not know." They eagerly fell in with the plan, advanced in a body and saluted Notker, who, humbly rising from his seat, asked what he could do for them. "Most learned sir," said the chaplain, "we have heard that you know everything. We should therefore like to learn from you what God is now doing in heaven, if you should chance to know that." "I know exactly," replied the other, "for He is now doing what He always does and what He will doubtless do soon to you. He is exalting the humble and humbling the proud." The young man went away ashamed, amid the laughter of the bystanders.

He did not heed the warning. Soon afterwards the trumpets sounded the signal for departure. The chaplain took the royal ensign in order to ride with it before the King, but he had scarcely quitted the precincts of the monastery when his restive horse

[1] Codex 14, p. 331.
[2] *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft*, Zürich, XII, 228–9.
[3] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 34, p. 128.
[4] *Ibid.*, cap. 37, p. 138.

threw him to the ground. He was picked up with a mangled face and a broken leg, and taken back to the Abbey to be tended and healed by the monk at whom he had scoffed[1]. Ekkehard records another instance of Notker's forgiving spirit.

Wolo, a gifted but unstable young monk of noble birth, was frequently punished for his disobedience to the Dean and to his teacher, Notker. His relations exhorted him to mend his ways, but without success. Once Notker dreamt that on the following day a calamity would take place. In the morning he warned the community. Accordingly the Dean forbade Wolo to go out that day, but the young man sneered: "An old man always dreams foolish things." He sat down to his work and copied as far as the words: "Incipiebat enim mori."[2] Then, being tired of writing, he went out. The others shouted: "Where are you going, Wolo?" but he took no notice of them, and began to climb the ladder of the bell-tower in order to get a glimpse of the mountains and fields. When he was above the altar of the Holy Virgins, he slipped, fell down into the church and broke his neck. Some of the other monks, who saw and heard his fall, hastened to give him the viaticum and to hear his confession. Notker himself came, embraced the dying man, and exclaimed with tears that he took Wolo's sins upon him. The young man commended his soul to the eleven thousand virgins and to Notker, and died holding his teacher's hand, while those who were present prayed for his salvation. Notker took charge of Wolo's funeral, and vowed that he would henceforth perform all his religious exercises twice, both for himself and Wolo; a week later a vision gave him the assurance that his pupil's sins had been forgiven[3].

Although he was the very personification of humility and modesty, he could fight stoutly against the powers of darkness. Several stories were told of Notker's conflicts with nocturnal apparitions. Once, in the crypt, he encountered the Devil in the form of a dog. Hurrying to St Gall's altar, he came back armed with the Saint's *cambutta* or crozier, with which he soundly belaboured the demon[4]. Tuotilo, not to speak of more sceptical

[1] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 38, pp. 139–141.
[2] John iv, 47.
[3] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 43, pp. 152–6.
[4] *Ibid.*, cap. 41, pp. 147–9.

modern critics, may have been right in thinking that these experiences were hallucinations[1], but they at least show that Notker was a visionary and a mystic.

Like Walafrid Strabo, with whom he had much in common, Notker cultivated with success the occasional poem in its various forms: poetic epistles, poems of welcome to distinguished visitors, and so on. He also wrote religious verse in Sapphic strophes, but his fame is principally due to his sequences. All his writings have a certain sincerity and spontaneity, which we seek in vain in most mediæval Latin poetry. He did not write mechanically but from a genuine poetic impulse.

Notker's poem in hexameters about the wonderful ram is a little masterpiece in mock-heroic style[2]. A peasant who lived in great poverty had three sons, and his only possession was a ram. The lads meet after their father's death to settle the ownership of the valuable animal. They agree that it shall be awarded to the one who describes the largest ram. Each tries to outdo the other in exaggeration, and the poet slily leaves it to the reader to decide the contest. Notker probably drew on folk-lore for his theme[3]. The story was still told on the banks of Lake Constance in the nineteenth century[4].

Although Notker was a saint—Ekkehard calls him "a vessel of the Holy Spirit[5]"—this did not prevent him from having a very keen sense of humour. He loved a joke, especially at the expense of his pet aversions: the Greeks, or the brethren of Reichenau. The latter were a little too fond of boasting and needed a salutary rebuke from time to time. They once had a wonderful yarn about a fish twelve feet long that was caught at their estate of Alahaspach, and they combined a little amateur etymology with the account of their exploit[5].

Notker replied that he could tell them something just as

[1] "Magnas inquietudines tu et demones tui facere soletis" was his sardonic remark, *op. cit.*, p. 152, cf. n. 539.

[2] Codex 73, p. 261, printed by E. Dümmler, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Poetæ Latini Ævi Carolini*, II, 474–5.

[3] Paul von Winterfeld, *Die Dichterschule St Gallens und der Reichenau*, p. 409.

[4] Paul von Winterfeld, *Frauendichtung im Mittelalter*, p. 449.

[5] "Cum ipsi assererent in *Alahaspach* loco suo piscem, quem *alant* vocant...apprehensam loco nomen dedisse."

marvellous and said he had seen a mushroom in the monastery in January. The Reichenau monks retorted that they did not believe it. They did not associate the deep snows and sharp frosts of January with mushrooms. Notker bided his time and when the coldest month of the year came round, he "delivered the goods" with a Latin couplet:

> To see is to believe, and now you have your wish.
> And now pray let us see the spine of your wonderful fish.

The *hypocaustum* at St Gall was very damp, especially in one corner, where the water-pipes were. The warm, moist atmosphere of the room caused the growth of enormous fungi[1].

The same delightful humour pervades the *Gesta Caroli Magni*[2], the famous collection of anecdotes about the great Emperor. With characteristic modesty Notker never mentions his own name, but simply calls himself the Monk of St Gall. It is only in recent years that the problem of authorship has been solved[3]. In the preface to the second book (that of the first is unfortunately lost) and in various other passages he informs us of his reasons for writing the work.

As a boy he had known Adalbert, an old soldier who had served under Count Kerold in Charlemagne's campaigns against the Saxons, Slavs, and Avars. From Adalbert's son Werinbert, who was a monk in the Abbey of St Gall and a teacher in the school, Notker obtained further information. He seems to have re-told some of these tales to Charles the Fat in 883, and the good-humoured monarch urged the monk to write them down. Two books only are preserved. In the third Notker intended to describe Charlemagne's domestic life. Possibly it was never completed. In 887 the last of the legitimate Carolingian emperors was deposed and this event may have led Notker to abandon his task.

These anecdotes give us a better knowledge of Charlemagne's character and his personality as it lived in the minds of his

[1] E. Dümmler in *St Gallische Denkmale aus der Karolingischen Zeit*, p. 225; cf. also p. 260.

[2] *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Scriptores*, II, pp. 726–763; bibliographical references in Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, pp. 360–1, 365–6.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 366.

subjects than all the historical works of the period. Notker writes in easy colloquial prose, but occasionally he rises to great power and impressiveness[1].

The poetic qualities of Notker's sequences have been admirably described by an eminent hymnologist[2]. Their popularity in the Middle Ages is proved by the enormous number of English, French, German, and Italian manuscripts that contain them. A hundred years after Notker's death, the clergy of Augsburg applied to the monks of St Gall for a sequence on their patroness, St Afren, on whose day they had hitherto sung Notker's general sequence *Scalam ad cælos*. So great was the prestige of Notker and his school that at Augsburg they did not attempt to write a hymn themselves, but even sacrificed some of St Afren's relics in order to obtain one from the monks of St Gall[3].

The form of Notker's sequences had far-reaching consequences for the evolution of lyric poetry. They consist of phrases of unequal length, since every syllable corresponds to one note of music. Hence they are not really divided into verses at all, for mediæval music was not split up into bars. There is neither a fixed number of syllables nor even of beats in a phrase. Strictly speaking these hymns are not poetry at all, but rhythmic prose. This opened up new possibilities of development. One of the most important varieties of Middle High German poetry, the *Leich*, is thought to have been derived from the sequence[4].

Notker's name is closely associated with that of his pupil Salomo, who found himself at about the age of thirty Bishop of Constance and Abbot of St Gall. In the early part of his reign he frequently absented himself from the Abbey, being fond of worldly pleasures and a favourite at court. Notker repeatedly sent him admonitions full of affectionate solicitude[5]. Later Salomo became a great patron of learning. His Greek and Latin

[1] As in the description of the Emperor's triumphant march through Lombardy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 759–760.

[2] J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 815.

[3] Paul von Winterfeld, *Die Dichterschule St Gallens und der Reichenau*, p. 417. It was Ekkehard I who composed the St Afren sequence.

[4] Ferdinand Wolf, *Über die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, Heidelberg, 1841, pp. 76–112; W. Wackernagel, *Die Verdienste der Schweizer um die deutsche Literatur*, Basel, 1833, pp. 8–9.

[5] Paul von Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 411–12.

Psalter and his *Glossarium* have been mentioned elsewhere. No less important are his two poetic epistles to Dado, Bishop of Verdun[1]. In the first we have a gloomy picture of the state of the Empire. It is torn asunder by feuds and the King is a child. The second laments the death of Salomo's brother Waldo, who was also a St Gall monk.

The literary efflorescence of St Gall in the reigns of Grimald, Hartmuot, and Salomo was limited to Latin works. Such prose and verse as was written in German was very poor in quality, and remained so till the end of the tenth century. Important as they are for the philologist, we can scarcely dignify by the name of literature the translations of the *Paternoster* and *Creed*[2] which were made in consequence of Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* (789), or the interlinear gloss of the *Benedictine Rule*[3] made between 800 and 804[4].

Otfrid of Weissenburg, the author of a religious epic in German rhymed verse, visited St Gall several times to see his friends Hartmuot and Werinbert, with whom he had studied at Fulda, and perhaps also to consult the Abbey library[5]. Otfrid's theories cannot fail to have impressed his hosts, and probably it was in some sense a result of this influence that Ratpert wrote the *Galluslied*, a hymn on St Gall in the vernacular. The Latin version[6] with its jingling rhymes is a poor substitute for the lost original, which would have been of the greatest interest both from the literary and linguistic point of view. We are, however, able to form some opinion of the technique of Ratpert's lay from the *Georgslied*, which seems to have been written at Reichenau[7]. Ratpert's innovation found no imitators at St Gall. He himself was less celebrated for his German hymn than for his litanies,

[1] Printed in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Poetæ Latini Ævi Carolini*, IV, 297–314. *Vide* Manitius, *op. cit.*, pp. 596–7.

[2] Wilhelm Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 8; *vide* Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, I, 315–16.

[3] Printed in Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 190–289; this writer considers it was written at Reichenau.

[4] All the St Gall glosses are printed in Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*; Steinmeyer u. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*; Piper, *Nachträge zur älteren deutschen Litteratur*, p. 374, gives a list of them.

[5] Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 575.

[6] By Ekkehard IV; printed in Hattemer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 337–344; *vide* Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–212.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 212–219.

his epitaph on Abbess Hildegard of Zürich, the daughter of King Ludwig, his poem on the dedication of the Fraumünsterkirche in his native town of Zürich, and his other Latin works[1].

In point of actual achievement no St Gall poet stands higher than Ekkehard I, the author of *Waltharii Poesis*[2]. He belonged to a noble Alsatian family and was born in the neighbourhood of the Abbey about the year 900. He was educated in the conventual school, probably by Gerald[3]. Ekkehard was no less successful as a scholar and poet than in administrative work, and became Dean of the monastery. He visited Rome in fulfilment of a vow, and was well received by the Pope, who presented him with relics of John the Baptist. He composed various hymns and sequences which are inferior only to those of Notker Balbulus, but his life of St Wiborada was left incomplete at his death in 973[4].

Just as Petrarch was much more famous for his Latin poem *Africa* than for his sonnets to Laura, Ekkehard was chiefly esteemed for his religious verse. The epic *Waltharius* is described in the *Casus* as a juvenile production of barbarous character[5]. It is more than likely that this was the opinion of the poet himself. The Dean of a monastery so famous for the strictness of its discipline could not but consider a poem containing a very graphic account of warlike deeds, of a great carouse, not to mention tender love-scenes, as a *péché de jeunesse*. The absolute correctness of the Dean's later work shows that he

> struck a jarring note at first
> And ever strove to make it true.

It was the poet's teacher who suggested that Ekkehard I should treat the story of Waltharius as a *dictamen metricum*, a school exercise in Latin verse[6]. It was the custom at St Gall for the *magister* to keep those exercises which were of exceptional

[1] Manitius, *op. cit.*, pp. 606–7.

[2] The best edition is that of K. Strecker, Berlin, 1907; next comes that of Hermann Althof, Leipzig, 1899.

[3] Meyer von Knonau, *Ekkeharti Casus*, pp. 285–6, n. 959. A different view is taken by Paul von Winterfeld, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XXVII, 25.

[4] Full bibliographical references for Ekkehard's life in Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, p. 610.

[5] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. 80, p. 284. [6] *Ibid.*

merit, and thus it came about that the epic was preserved for posterity. The teacher revised the poem, but his revision does not seem to have been very thorough; at least one line of only five feet was left uncorrected[1], not to speak of other minor errors.

According to the testimony of Ekkehard IV[2] and the express statement of the poet himself, *Waltharius* was written in its author's youth, i.e. before 930. It is the work of a man who, if he has not been an eye-witness of a battle himself, has at least seen and spoken to men who have. He takes an evident delight in the battle-scenes, which occupy about a quarter of the whole poem. He deals with Attila and his Huns, and describes their method of warfare: unlike the Franks and Walther, they fight on horseback. What is more natural than to suggest that the poem was occasioned by the Hungarian invasion of the St Gall district in the year 925–6[3]? In the popular imagination the Huns were the same people as the Hungarians. At no other time in the history of the Abbey did the military spirit appeal to the monks with such force, because the enemy were pagans. The fight against them was a crusade.

In spite of the large admixture of secular elements, the poem was extremely popular in clerical circles. There is reason to believe that the learned nun Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim was acquainted with it before 965[4]. At the time when the St Gall monk Victor was a teacher in the Cathedral School of Strassburg, Bishop Erkanbold (965–991) received at his own request a copy of the epic, together with a dedicatory epistle entitled in some manuscripts "Poesis Geraldi de Gualtario."

Gerald says in his prologue[5]:

> **Præsul sancte Dei, nunc accipe munera servi**
> **Quæ tibi decrevit de larga promere cura**
> **Peccator fragilis Geraldus nomine vilis.**

Did Gerald, who was a teacher in the St Gall school, pass off the poem as his own? It is scarcely necessary to assume this. He

[1] *Waltharii Poesis*, ed. Althof, II, 186.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, "quia in affectione, non in habitu erat puer."

[3] With his usual caution, Professor Meyer von Knonau states that there is insufficient evidence for this view, *loc. cit.*, p. 287, n. 959. Cf. W. Meyer, *Der Dichter des Waltharius*, p. 126.

[4] Paul von Winterfeld, *Waltharii Poesis*, in *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XXVII, 13.

[5] Lines 9–11.

merely meant that he was the donor of the manuscript, and the words "Poesis Geraldi de Gualtario" refer to the dedicatory epistle, not to the poem proper, which has a separate title: "Waltharii Poesis." The *dictamen* would be the property of the teacher himself, and would therefore be presented by the latter to Erkanbold. Ekkehard would not be particularly anxious to claim the paternity of the epic. There is a marked difference of style between the hexameters of the prologue with their obscurity and conventional phrases, and those of the poem proper. There are also metrical differences: in the latter leonine verses are the exception, in the former they predominate. It should finally be noted that Gerald calls himself "fragilis," while the poet emphasizes his youth.

During the stay at Mainz, about the year 1030, Ekkehard IV revised *Waltharius* at the request of Archbishop Aribo. Ekkehard considered that the barbarous mother-tongue of the author had left its traces on the Latin style. Accordingly he set to work to improve it to the best of his ability[1]. It is generally supposed that the work of this later editor was confined to details of style and the removal of metrical errors. There is great divergence of opinion as to whether Ekkehard IV's version was based on the original poem of Ekkehard I or on Gerald's revised text.

On the whole it is not surprising that not a single copy of the manuscript is now to be found at St Gall[2]. For a century liturgical poetry was cultivated to such an extent that a secular poem had little chance of survival. Later it was the translation of Latin texts into German that absorbed the attention of the learned at St Gall. Then came the Cluniac Reform, which swept away all non-liturgical literary work. It is quite characteristic that Ekkehard IV should be our sole informant with regard to the epic. He was the last monk of the old school, and even he was so far influenced by monkish prejudice as to dismiss it in a few contemptuous words.

Ekkehard I was, like other St Gall monks, an excellent story-teller. He visualizes his characters and makes them live. He

[1] "Quam Magontiæ positi, Aribone archiepiscopo jubente, pro posse et nosse nostro correximus," *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, pp. 284–6.

[2] Singer, *Die Dichterschule von St Gallen*, p. 421.

was fortunate in the choice of his subject: the tale of Walther and Hildegunde was full of human interest. Attila, King of the Huns, invades the territory of his western neighbours with a huge army. Without an attempt at resistance the Franks submit, handing over Hagen, the son of a powerful noble, as a hostage. Attila enters Burgundy and Aquitaine with similar results. He returns home, taking with him into captivity Hagen, Hildegunde, daughter of the King of Burgundy, and Walthari, the heir to the throne of Aquitaine.

Many years pass; then news comes to the land of the Huns that the Franks have repudiated their treaty of alliance with Attila and refused the payment of tribute. Hagen escapes, and joins his own people. Attila suspects that Walthari will follow Hagen's example, but the young captive allays the king's suspicions by great protestations of fidelity. What is more, he soon afterwards distinguishes himself in battle. On his return as the victorious general, Walthari, who had been betrothed to Hildegunde when they were both children, persuades her to throw in her lot with him and flee. The favourable opportunity arrives when a banquet is given in honour of the recent victory. The wine flows freely; the Huns dine "not wisely, but too well," and finally lie intoxicated on the floor. Walthari and Hildegunde set out on their homeward journey, carrying with them a rich store of treasure. Great is the fury of Attila when he finds that he has been tricked, but none of his vassals dares to follow the formidable Walthari.

After forty days the fugitives reach the Rhine without misadventure. Gunther, the Frankish king, hears of their arrival, and sets out in pursuit, hoping to seize the treasure. He is accompanied by Hagen and twelve other companions. Gunther overtakes the wanderers in the Vosges. In order to be safe against attack, Walthari had taken his stand at the mouth of a cave. Hagen at first refuses to join in the fight against his old comrade, but when all the twelve knights have been laid low by Walthari, Hagen yields to Gunther's entreaties. They await the next morning. Meanwhile Walthari and Hildegunde keep watch alternately. When it is the warrior's turn to sleep, he lays his head in the maiden's lap, and she keeps herself awake by singing

songs. In the battle that follows Walthari loses his right hand, Gunther a leg, and Hagen an eye. No sooner are they disabled than all enmity vanishes. Hildegunde binds their wounds, and the two friends are reconciled to each other. Walthari returns to his native country, marries Hildegunde and reigns over his people after his father's death.

In a curious epilogue the poet craves the indulgence of his readers, comparing himself to a barely-fledged *cicada*[1]. This bears out what Ekkehard IV says about the youthful inexperience of the poet. The apology was quite unnecessary: the young monk had every reason to be proud of his work, although such phrases as "oscula dulcia" scarcely accorded with the strict spirit of the Benedictine Rule. But were they not due just as much to a knowledge of Virgil[2] as to an unregenerate mind?

Great was the fame of the poem. It was used as a reading-book in schools, and it is not improbable that it was read in conventual refectories during meals instead of the devotional works prescribed for that purpose. So frequently was it copied in France that Fauriel in his *Histoire de la poésie provençale* developed the singular theory that it was written on the banks of the Loire[3]. However he at least recognized that the Erkanbold of the preface was the Bishop of Strassburg.

Fauriel's hypothesis was a product of early nineteenth century scholarship, and it would have died a natural death if a French scholar, M. Flach[4], and a Belgian, M. Wilmotte[5], had not recently returned to the charge. Their results do not agree, and are indeed mutually destructive; neither of them agree with Fauriel. Besides our Swiss Shakespeare we have a Bacon in France and a *tertium quid* in Lorraine.

Considered apart from his environment, the existence of such a writer as Ekkehard I in an obscure corner of Switzerland is

[1] "Hæc quicunque leges stridenti ignosce cicadæ
Raucellam nec adhuc vocem perpende, sed ævum,
Utpote quæ nidis nondum petit alta relictis."
Did Ekkehard think the *cicada* was a bird?

[2] Cf. *Æneid*, I, 687; *vide* Strecker, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1907, p. 865.

[3] Vol. I, p. 399.

[4] *Revue des études historiques*, Paris, juillet-août, 1916.

[5] *Revue historique*, tome 127, pp. 1–30, Paris, 1918. Cf. K. Strecker, *Franci Nebulones*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LVII (1920), 185–8.

certainly inexplicable, but we must place him in his proper setting. Let us consider the illustrious family from which he was sprung. His nephew, Ekkehard II, was the brilliant and accomplished scholar who read Virgil with Duchess Hadwig of Swabia, who, as W. P. Ker puts it, was "more like a scholarly lady of the sixteenth century (Queen Elizabeth, for example) than the heroines of the Middle Ages."[1] Another kinsman of his "lisped in numbers"; he could improvise in Latin verse while he was still a small boy; in later life, as Abbot Burkhard, he was a distinguished patron of letters. Yet a third was Notker Labeo, who translated Terence into German. As Notker Balbulus died in 912 and Ekkehard the Dean was born about twelve years earlier, it is quite conceivable that the younger poet had actually seen his great predecessor; at all events he was a pupil in the school at a time when Notker's poetry was still a living force at St Gall.

It may well be imagined that a work of such importance as *Waltharius* has not escaped the attention of philologists and literary historians. The genealogical tree of the manuscript, the sources, poetic diction, and so forth have all been the object of laborious industry[2]. It is a fascinating study to trace the evolution of the story from the shadowy regions of legend and myth down to the tenth century. With regard to the poet's materials, two points are fairly clear: the form is largely based on the classics and Latin religious verse, while the subject-matter is derived from an old Germanic legend.

Ekkehard borrowed a good many phrases from Virgil and Prudentius; he even took over whole lines bodily. In points of detail the classical element is very much in evidence[3]. When the sun sets, it is Phoebus sinking towards the western shores, lighting up with his rays Ultima Thule, leaving behind him the Scots and Iberians. In the morning Lucifer ascends lofty Olympus, and Taprobane sees the bright orb rising from the waves. The souls of the slain go down to the shades, to Orcus, or to

[1] *The Dark Ages*, p. 197.

[2] Bibliographies in Strecker, Althof, and Ehrismann, pp. 384–397.

[3] *Strecker, Ekkehard und Vergil*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLII (1898), pp. 339–365; cf. Meyer, *Der Dichter des Waltharius*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLIII (1899), pp. 113–146.

Erebus. Waltharius himself is called "Alpharides." Ekkehard's debt to Prudentius is difficult to estimate, because so many phrases were the common property of ecclesiastical writers; he doubtless owed a good deal to older St Gall poetry, e.g. Notker's sequences[1].

In some passages we hear echoes of the old Germanic epic: thus Walthari's shield is described as "Wielandia fabrica,"[2] which reminds us of the alliterative phrase "Wêlandes geweorc" in Beowulf[3]. A German exclamation is left untranslated in the sentence: "Wah! sed quid dicis?" There is a Teutonic grimness in the single combats between Walthari and his enemies, and more especially in the rough jests he exchanges with Hagen at the close of their encounter.

The plot in its main outlines sprang from oral tradition. Good reasons have been adduced for believing that the story was embodied in a Germanic lay, similar to the *Hildebrandslied* in size and general character. Yet if Ekkehard was inspired by a metrical version of the old legend, he cannot have followed it at all closely, because the Teutonic element in his work is relatively small, even if we make the most liberal allowance for the occurrence of parallelism and translations from the German[4]. It has therefore been suggested that there was an intermediate stage, a Latin poem. Unfortunately there is not the slightest evidence that such a version ever existed.

The most reasonable view is that Ekkehard had read or heard the story in German, and that he retold the narrative in his own words, adding various motives and episodes. We owe to him such scenes as the cavalry battle between the Huns led by Walthari and their enemies, the dialogue between Walthari and Hildegunde, the banquet scene, Hagen's dream, and so forth. Invention was one of Ekkehard's most conspicuous qualities. Those who assume that he must have had a Latin source fail to do justice to his imaginative powers. Let us take one example: the combats between Walthari and Gunther's henchmen. No

[1] Winterfeld, *Die Dichterschule St Gallens*, pp. 24–5; cf. also *v.* 470 congaudete mihi, *v.* 472 cunctipotens.

[2] *v.* 965. [3] Cf. Althof, *op. cit.*, I, 54–5.

[4] E.g. *v.* 467 Waltharius collega meus (Walthari wine mîn), *v.* 555 cultores regionis (lantbûente), etc. Althof, *op. cit.*, II, 158.

two battles are the same; the weapons used, the tactics adopted are varied with great skill and originality.

Some passages smack too much of the cloisters; they look as if they had been interpolated. Thus, when Gunther taunts Hagen with cowardice, the latter "justly conceived wrath"; the next line comes rather as a surprise: "If indeed it is lawful to be angry with one's lord[1]"—surely an unnecessary observation. Or again, Walthari boasts to Hildegunde about what he is going to do in the battle[2], just as Beowulf does before grappling with Grendel. Then, before he has even finished his speech, he falls on his knees, and prays to be forgiven:

> Nec dum sermonem complevit, humo tenus ecce
> Corruit et veniam petiit, quia talia dixit.

Hagen exhorts his young nephew to refrain from attacking the invincible Walthari[3]. Immediately afterwards he indulges in a lengthy sermon on the well-worn theme: "Auri sacra fames." It is quite true that Gunther's greed was the cause of his vassals' death, but the digression is superfluous. It is also curious that Walthari, after rushing into the palace parched with thirst, makes the sign of the cross over the cup before he drinks.

These are monkish additions and are foreign to the old legend. Were they added by Ekkehard I, or by one of the later editors? The passage on the greed of gold is worthy of the Dean, which is more than can be said of the others. In the second example quoted I fancy I can recognize the accents of the learned schoolmaster, Ekkehard IV. Such interpolations scarcely mar the general effect of unity. The composition of the poem is extremely good and has been frequently praised by critics.

The most famous of the four nephews whom Ekkehard I brought to the Abbey was Notker III (c. 950–1022), surnamed Labeo. Only one scene is recorded from his life: it is his pupil Ekkehard IV who tells the story[4]. Just before his death he had succeeded in finishing his translation of Job. He passed away on the Feast of St Peter, a saint whom he venerated very highly. He had often exhorted young Ekkehard to pray to St Peter, because he held the keys of heaven. When the end drew near,

[1] *vv.* 629–631. [2] *vv.* 561–3. [3] *v.* 857.
[4] Printed in Kelle, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, I, 394–5.

the old man made his confession. The greatest sin of which he was conscious, and which often tormented his dreams, was that of having killed a wolf in his youth, while wearing the monastic habit. When absolution had been given, he asked that poor and destitute persons might be brought into the room and there be supplied with food and drink. He was buried in his conventual garments in accordance with a command of St Gall, and in order that the chain he wore round his body might not be loosened.

Ekkehard also explains to us why Notker was called "Teutonicus": "He expounded many books in German from love of his pupils."[1] This is indeed Notker's chief title to fame: he is the father of German prose. He informs us himself, in a Latin letter[2] to Bishop Hugo of Sion (998–1017), what caused him to translate religious and secular books into the vernacular.

The Bishop, who was a humanist born before his time, had evidently been exhorting Notker to concentrate on the seven liberal arts in his teaching, and the St Gall *magister* replies: "I have had this wish and have it still, but we are in the hands of the Lord, we and our works, and can do nothing but what He allows." In short, he was not able to teach the liberal arts for their own sake, but only as a means to an end, as a preparation for the study of the ecclesiastical works which must be read in schools. In order to facilitate access to these books, he had taken the unprecedented step of translating Latin authors into his own language, expounding syllogistic, figurative, or dialectic phrases with the help of Aristotle, Cicero, and other writers.

This new method of interpretation was first applied to Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* and *De Trinitate*[3]. Then, at the request of some unknown patron, he translated various poetical works: *Disticha Catonis*, Virgil's *Bucolica*, and the *Andria* of Terence. He next applied himself to *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii* by the Neo-Platonist Martianus Capella, Aristotle's *Categories* and *Hermeneutics*, and the *Elements of Arithmetic*

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Printed by J. Grimm in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1835, pp. 911–13, and *Kleine Schriften*, v, 190.

[3] For this treatise *vide* Ehrismann, *Geschichte der althochdeutschen Literatur*, p. 412, n. 1.

(perhaps by Boethius)[1]. Leaving the liberal arts, he returned to theology, translated the whole *Psalter*, explaining it by the aid of Augustine's commentary. He also began Job, but only completed a third of it. The context suggests that this means the Biblical text, but Ekkehard IV gives us more detailed information[2]: it was Gregory the Great's *Homilia in Job*. This was the work that the "most learned and benign master[3]" finished on his deathbed. In addition he wrote in Latin a volume on rhetoric and a new "computus," as well as some shorter treatises.

Notker was fully conscious that his translations were a new departure. "I know that you will shrink from them as being unusual," he wrote to Bishop Hugo, "but little by little they will begin to commend themselves to you, and you will soon excel in reading them[4], and will recognize how quickly we can understand by means of our mother-tongue what can be understood only with difficulty, or not at all, in a foreign language."

The translation of learned works into the vulgar tongue was a painfully slow and laborious process in the eleventh century. Five books of Boethius, two of Martianus Capella, Aristotle and the rest—truly a formidable array of volumes; could one man have written so much? Is it not possible that there was a St Gall school of translators, of which Notker was the head? Were not some of the manuscripts written by the master himself, others by his pupils? The works attributed to Notker have been subjected again and again to the closest scrutiny, with a view to establishing differences of style, of vocabulary, of orthography. But there is general agreement among critics to-day that Notker was the sole author of the works that bear his name[5].

The *Psalter*, an interlinear Old High German version with the Latin text, is to be found in a St Gall manuscript[6]. This is, however, a copy dating from the beginning of the twelfth century,

[1] Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, p. 426, cf. n. 1.

[2] *Liber Benedictionum*, *vv.* 12–14, printed in Kelle, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, I, 394.

[3] *St Galler Totenbuch*, in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, XI, 45 (June 29).

[4] "Prævalebitis ad legendum."

[5] Jakob Grimm, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1835, pp. 910–11; Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*, III, 3 sqq.; cf. Wackernagel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I, 103–4.

[6] Codex 21, pp. 8–574. *Vide* Johann Kelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–47.

and thus a century later than Notker. The original is lost, but various fragments exist from which Notker's text can be partially reconstructed. The German interlinear glosses in two manuscripts are later additions. Their author is unknown, but they have been attributed to Ekkehard IV. Whether this is correct or not, the scribe was certainly a worthy successor of Notker Labeo, and his work shows to what a pitch the art of translation was raised at St Gall. He displays great ingenuity in finding German equivalents for such terms as *natura*, *religio*, *evangelium*, *angelus*, *pharisei*, *scribæ*. He used no less than thirteen different expressions to translate *ecclesia*, according to the context[1].

Of all Notker's works the *Psalter* was the most popular. It was copied frequently up to the fourteenth century. Thanks to the learned commentary[2] it was admirably adapted for use in the school. The Empress Gisela, who visited St Gall in 1027, ordered a copy of the *Psalter* and *Job* to be made for her[3]. In the seventeenth century Simon de la Loubère, secretary of the French embassy at Solothurn, had Notker's *Psalter* transcribed. This version is lost, but it was copied for Johann Schilter in 1698, and printed by him. Schilter's manuscript was itself transcribed for the Danish scholar Rostgard[4].

Both Notker's original treatises, the *Rhetoric*[5] and the *Computus*[6] (instructions for calculating the dates of church festivals, especially Easter) have come down to us. The *Rhetoric* is in Latin, but it contains numerous German examples interpolated, among them passages of verse. The technical terms are explained by German phrases: thus *elocutio* is glossed as "reht kesprache *vel* reht kechose." Most of the examples are taken from Martianus Capella, Cicero, Ennius, and the Vulgate[7].

The so-called *Epistle of Ruodpert*, in a St Gall manuscript of

[1] Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–4.
[2] Cf. P. T. Hoffmann, *Der mittelalterliche Mensch*, pp. 232–245.
[3] *Liber Benedictionum* in *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, xv, p. lxxxviii; cf. however Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, p. 430, n. 2.
[4] Johann Kelle, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung, Übersetzung, Grammatik der Psalmen Notkers*, pp. 1–26.
[5] For MSS. *vide* Bächthold, *op. cit.*, Anmerkungen, p. 21.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 21–2.
[7] Gabriel Meier, *Geschichte der Schule von St Gallen*, p. 108.

the eleventh century[1], has been quoted as evidence of the existence of a school, but it has been proved that the introductory passage is a forgery by the notorious Goldast and that there is no connection between the monk Ruodpert and the manuscript in question[2]. It is apparently a school-exercise, and contains, *inter alia*, sentences taken from Notker's writings. A curious feature of this epistle is that it gives German names for the eight parts of speech.

Of the eleven translated works mentioned in Notker's letter to the Bishop of Sion, only five are extant[3], viz. Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*[4], the first two books of Martianus Capella[5], Aristotle's *Categories*[6] and *Hermeneutics*[7] and the *Psalter*. Notker was, of course, unacquainted with Aristotle in the original[8]. He used the Latin version with commentary by Boethius.

Notker also refers in his letter to Bishop Hugo to his shorter writings: "Alia quædam opuscula latine conscripsi." These survive to-day in the shape of three tractates on logic: *De Syllogismis*[9], *De Definitione*[10], *De Partibus Logicæ*[11]. In addition there are four short treatises in German entitled *De Musica*[12]: this is the earliest known work on musical theory in the vernacular. The subjects dealt with are the eight notes, the tetrachords, the eight keys and the measuring of organ pipes. In the same manuscript there are some Latin poems which are provided with occasional neumes, but not so frequently or consistently as to serve as a musical text. Schubiger suggests that Notker employed this device in order to show how the words should be declaimed and accentuated. That he paid special attention to elocution is, indeed, not unlikely[13].

We cannot blame Notker for the occurrence of an ablative

[1] Codex 556, pp. 400–1; printed in Müllenhoff and Scherer's *Denkmäler* (3rd ed.), No. LXXX, pp. 259–260, 404–6.
[2] Bächthold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, pp. 74–5.
[3] All are printed in Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*, Vols. II, III, and Piper, *Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule*, Vols. I–III.
[4] Codex 825, pp. 4–271. [5] Codex 872, pp. 4–170.
[6] Codex 818, pp. 3–143; 825, pp. 275–338. [7] Codex 818, pp. 143–246.
[8] Rudolf Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I 2, pp. 616–17.
[9] Bächthold, *op. cit.*, Anmerkungen, p. 21.
[10] Ehrismann, *Geschichte der althochdeutschen Literatur*, p. 441. [11] *Ibid.*
[12] St Gall Codex No. 242, pp. 10–16 (sæc. XI), ed. Gerbert, *Scriptores Eccl. Mus.* I, 96–102. [13] *Sängerschule St Gallens*, p. 81.

absolute, an accusative and infinitive, or other Latin idioms in his German translations, because it was not his aim to produce a prose style in the modern sense of the word. His main purpose was not artistic but didactic. Nevertheless he had in him the makings of a great stylist. In those passages that are paraphrases rather than literal versions of the original text, Notker avoids Latinisms and displays a remarkable sense of the value of words. Nor are his translations stereotyped. He has at his disposal a plentiful store of synonyms, and carefully selects his German word with a view to expressing the meaning of the Latin as accurately as possible. He enriches the vocabulary of his native language, and widens its scope enormously. He expounds every allusion in the original with extraordinary clearness and precision. By virtue of his prose style Notker was a couple of centuries before his time.

In all Teutonic countries verse preceded literary prose. It is therefore not surprising to find alliterative or rhythmical passages in Notker[1], just as we do in the works of Alfred the Great. As Notker had no prose models in the vulgar tongue, he had to borrow literary phrases from heroic verse or colloquial speech. The imitation of Latin constructions was a third possibility, but one of which Notker availed himself comparatively little. Many of the poetic turns of speech to be met with in his writings may not have been taken directly from poetry, but were first coined by poets and then became proverbial.

Notker Labeo's greatest service to scholarship is his system of orthography. No other Old High German writer devoted such careful attention to the subject, and from none can we learn so much about the then state of the language. In his letter to the Bishop of Sion he observed that German words should not be spelt without accents. In the manuscripts written by Notker himself, or under his personal supervision, the acute denotes a short vowel, and the circumflex is a sign of length[2]. By his

[1] Rudolf Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I 2, pp. 618–624. Kögel rather exaggerates this element in Notker's work, but his account is valuable. For Notker's style *vide* P. T. Hoffmann, *Der mittelalterliche Mensch*, pp. 144–7; for his etymologies, *ibid.*, p. 158.

[2] W. Braune, *Über die Quantität der althochdeutschen Endsilben*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, II, 143–167.

treatment of initial consonants, Notker showed that he was aware of the varying value of such sounds according to the context, and in this respect he may be said to have anticipated in some measure the discoveries of modern phoneticians[1].

Notker broke with the traditional method of expounding classical and ecclesiastical writers in Latin and substituted the vernacular. However he often left untranslated the technical terms of philosophy, of the arts and sciences, in fact abstract words generally, even those for which an equivalent in the vulgar tongue could readily be found. These are survivals of the older system, as also is an explanatory remark like "quasi diceret"; the corresponding phrase in Notker's dialect, which frequently occurs, is "táz chît" (das heisst).

We are able to reconstruct from Notker's works his teaching methods. After reading aloud a sentence of the original, he would first give a literal translation. If this was not clear he added a freer, simpler rendering. He paraphrased Latin figures of speech.

Ekkehard IV inherited from his teacher Notker Labeo the tastes of a scholar without sharing his enthusiasm for the German language[2]. His numerous Latin poems[3] are not of outstanding merit; the didactic purpose always predominates. The most important among them is a translation of Ratpert's German poem in honour of St Gall. It is as one of the authors of the *Casus S. Galli*[4] that we are principally concerned with Ekkehard here. The monastic chronicle was begun by Ratpert, but his contribution is disappointing. He neglects essentials and deals with externals only: the struggle between St Gall and Constance, the Abbey's growth in material well-being and the like.

Ekkehard lacked the accuracy, the patience and the impartiality of the true historian. He mixes together in inextricable confusion fact and legend, truth and mere gossip. The *Casus* becomes in his hands a description of individual monks, not a

[1] Jakob Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, I, 364 sqq.; Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, pp. 74–5.

[2] Cf. however Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

[3] Edited by J. Egli, St Gall, 1909. For Ekkehard's verse see Ernst Dümmler, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), pp. 1–73.

[4] His portion was written about 1050.

history of the Abbey. The chronology is absolutely unreliable. The whole consists of disconnected anecdotes rather than continuous narrative. Yet Ekkehard was a poet, and his work has a charm that is all its own. The inexhaustible variety of his memoirs, the picturesqueness, the quaint humour, the sly euphemisms[1] are almost unrivalled. The *Casus* contains a wealth of information about the manners, the customs, and the mental attitude of the author's contemporaries. It brings the inmates of the monastery and their daily life vividly before the reader of to-day.

Many of Ekkehard's stories are little masterpieces: the attack of the Hungarians, the fire, the raids of the Saracens, Ekkehard II and Duchess Hadwig, the birth of Burkhard I. The account of the three inseparable friends, Notker Balbulus, Ratpert, and Tuotilo, has been characterized as "one of the passages of mediæval history that may stand comparison with anything modern; the real life in it comes out unimpaired through all the quaintnesses and awkwardness of the Latin prose. The three friends are as distinct, their characters as vividly expressed as any three in history."[2] The same writer declares: "Ekkehard is so good that it is scarcely possible for any modern rendering to take his place. Even Carlyle could hardly have done for him what he did for Jocelin of Brakelonde, because in Ekkehard the imaginative work is done already."[3]

The secret of Ekkehard's power is his love of the good old times. His book is an eloquent protest against Cluniac innovation. His chief purpose is to glorify the past and contrast it with the present, to portray the ancient fame of St Gall as an independent Benedictine Abbey, and to sing the praises of Abbot Salomo.

The stream of literary tradition that had flowed uninterruptedly from the first Notker to the fourth Ekkehard came abruptly to a close about the middle of the eleventh century. The political disturbances of the times following on the rigours of the Cluniac reform, utterly destroyed the mental culture of St Gall. The only literature that was then possible was one of uncompromising asceticism.

[1] E.g. veritati parcens, "sparing the truth," i.e. "lying."
[2] W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, Edinburgh and London, 1904, p. 196.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

Not many years after Ekkehard had completed his contribution to the *Casus S. Galli*, an unknown St Gall monk[1] wrote a poem in the vernacular entitled *Memento Mori*[2]. This is the oldest German poem in existence in the form of the regular metrical sequence; it is composed of stanzas of eight or ten lines. The writer is evidently addressing the laity. He exhorts them not to place their trust in the things of this world, for they are illusory and evanescent, but to act justly, to renounce wealth and to flee from evil before it is too late. He admonishes them so to live that when death comes upon them it will find them prepared.

Nearly two hundred years elapsed before St Gall again became a centre of literary production. In the interval the clergy had lost their supremacy in letters, and a new class, that of the knights, had come into power. Many of the vassals and dependents of the Abbots of St Gall now cultivated the *Minnesang*. Two among them, Ulrich von Singenberg[3] and Konrad von Landegg[4], were poets of some distinction.

Ulrich's castle stood on the river Sitter near Bischofszell, eight miles from St Gall. He held the office of *Truchsess*, or steward, to the Abbot, as his father had done before him. One of his poems is an elegy on his feudal overlord, Abbot Ulrich von Sax (1204–1220); in another[5] he laments the death of Walther von der Vogelweide, his master in the art of song. Both the didactic *Sprüche*[6] and lyrics of this prolific writer show how much he owed to his predecessor; in many manuscripts the works of the two poets are indiscriminately mixed.

Knowing that there was in the fifteenth century a St Gall citizen of the name of Hans Vogelweider, the Swiss historian

[1] W. Scherer in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXIV, 437; J. Bächthold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, 78; cf. however Anmerkungen, p. 23.

[2] Edited by Barack in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXIII, 209–216. Bibliography in Friedrich Vogt, *Geschichte der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur*, I, p. 13, n. 1.

[3] His poems are in *Die grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, ed. Fridrich Pfaff, Heidelberg, 1909, pp. 542–564.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 660–686.

[5] Printed in E. Stilgebauer, *Geschichte des Minnesangs* Weimar, 1895, p. 102; cf. p. 156. An English translation in J. Bithell, *The Minnesingers*. London, 1909, p. 119.

[6] One is translated in F. C. Nicholson, *Old German Love Songs*, London, 1907, pp. 108–110.

Stumpf concluded that Walther von der Vogelweide was a member of the same family and a native of the St Gall district[1]. Many later writers, including Bodmer and Von Arx, perpetuated the legend, until it was destroyed by Uhland[2].

In spite of his dependence on Walther, Ulrich von Singenberg is by no means devoid of originality. In his didactic verse he refers to current events in the manner of his great model. In his lyrics he complains of unrequited love or describes the parting of lovers at dawn—these are conventional themes. But he also writes a curious ironic dialogue in verse between a father and a son[3], and he contrasts his own opulence with the poverty of the professional minstrel. In some of his works he anticipates the peasant poetry of Neidhart von Reuental[4].

Konrad von Landegg[5], who flourished in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, was cupbearer to the Abbot of St Gall: the office was hereditary in his family. He wrote twenty-two songs in praise of his lady-love. Before the ramparts of Vienna, where the Emperor's army is encamped, Konrad feels the pangs of love and longing. In another campaign he is on the banks of the Seine, but his thoughts are by Lake Constance and the Rhine, with the fairest maiden in Swabia.

Another ministerial of the Abbot of St Gall is to be found in the ranks of the *Minnesänger*. This is Der Hardegger[6], who confined himself to didactic poetry of a conventional character. We have it on the authority of Hugo von Trimberg, who wrote about the year 1300, that one of the abbots himself followed the prevailing fashion and wrote love-lyrics[7]. It is not known whether this refers to Konrad von Bussnang (1226–1239) or Berchtold von Falkenstein (1244–1272), but it seems probable that the former is meant.

[1] *Schweizer Chronik*, 1606, p. 373 *b*.
[2] *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Fischer, VI, 14–17.
[3] Translated by Bithell, *loc. cit.*
[4] J. Bächtold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, p. 149. For further information *vide* Singer, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Schweiz im Mittelalter*, pp. 43–4; Stilgebauer, *op. cit.*, p. 285.
[5] Stilgebauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 290.
[6] Two poems are translated by F. C. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–3; Stilgebauer, pp. 253, 293.
[7] Bächtold, *op. cit.*, *Anmerkungen*, p. 23.

The Abbey Library now possesses some extremely valuable Middle High German manuscripts, chief among them being the famous codex[1] containing Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzifal* and *Willehalm*, the *Nibelungenlied* and *Klage*, Stricker's *Karl der Grosse*, and a fragment of a *Spruch* by the Tyrolese poet Friedrich von Sonnenburg. This codex formerly belonged to the historian Ægidius Tschudi, and was purchased by the Abbey in 1768. There is also a manuscript of the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems[2], who was a ministerial of Abbot Wilhelm von Montfort (1281–1301). Nor is the bourgeois literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries unrepresented. There is a manuscript of Küchimeister's *Nüwe Casus*[3], the oldest Swiss historical work in the vernacular. Küchimeister, who was a citizen of St Gall, took up his narrative at the year 1228, where Conradus de Fabaria stopped, and continued it until 1329. His chronicle is accurate and reliable. For the earlier period he used good authorities, of the later he was an eye-witness.

Another writer who deserves a place among the pioneers of German historical literature, namely Johannes Kessler, began his education as an oblate in the Abbey, while the humanist Vadianus would not have been able to write his *Chronicle of St Gall* without the aid of the manuscripts he discovered in the conventual library. There is an unbroken line of tradition from Ratpert to Küchimeister and Vadianus; from the monks who wrote the *Casus S. Galli* in the ninth century to those who later helped to lay the foundations of modern German historiography. It can safely be said that every branch of Middle High German literature is well represented at St Gall. The writings of the mediæval mystics, Eckhart, Sense, Tauler and Rulman Merswin can be read in excellent manuscripts and early printed editions. We find *inter alia* numerous sermons, works on medicine, natural history; and, finally, polemical tractates of the Reformation period.

[1] No. 857. Cf. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek*, p. 292. Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, p. 164.

[2] No. 33 (paper), A.D. 1407.

[3] No. 1406. It is a copy made by Von Arx. The original is in the Municipal Library.

CHAPTER X

ST GALL IN ROMANCE

It was a pleasant spot that St Gall, "silvarum avidus" (as the *Vita* tells us),chose for his hermitage: a high lying valley, two thousand feet above the sea, separated by rolling pine-clad hills from the fertile shores of Lake Constance. The Steinach brook falls in long cascades from the steep cliffs that rise to the south. Beyond them are higher and ever higher mountains, culminating in the rocky precipices of the Alpstein range, with snow-crowned peaks half hidden in the clouds.

Seventy years ago, at the time of Scheffel, St Gall was still a small town. Now it is a centre of population and industry; but it is free from the overcrowding, the grime and filth that we generally associate with manufacturing districts. Its clean and well-built factories are driven by electric power; the stone is almost as white to-day as when it left the builders' hands. Many of the merchants of St Gall are men of a liberal education; they support a learned society, the *Historische Gesellschaft*, which since 1862 has continued the work of publishing original documents relating to the abbey and the municipality[1].

The Alpstein group is the most easterly bulwark of the Swiss Alps. Its highest point, the Säntis, is only twelve miles distant from St Gall. This region has a charm and a fascination that is all its own. We seek in vain for the large hotels and cable railways that disfigure the Bernese Oberland. Those who wish to explore must be content to go on foot and to spend the night in the most primitive of Alpine hostelries.

But the grandeur of the surrounding scenery and the glories of the past would not in themselves suffice to make St Gall the home of romance. If there had been no Ekkehard IV, its abbey and its mountains might have for ever remained unhonoured and unsung. For it was he who immortalized his monastery and inspired later writers to sing its praises. If we visualize the Abbey in the heyday of its fame, at the time of Hartmuot and

[1] *Mit. zur vat. Gesch.*

Salomo, we see it in the contours indelibly fixed by Ekkehard's pen.

The famous library, which still told of past greatness in a later, degenerate day, attracted pilgrims to St Gall after the Reformation, as the relics of the Saint did in the Middle Ages. Italian humanists and Swiss historians were the first to discover or re-discover its treasures. The former were so engrossed in the beauty of the classical texts they found there that they scarcely paused to enquire by whom they had been copied, but the Swiss scholars diligently pursued the search, and studied with patriotic enthusiasm every vestige of ancient learning.

The historian Stumpf has given us a valuable and circumstantial account of the state of the library in the middle of the sixteenth century[1]. "The books lie in a disorderly heap," he writes, "they are guarded like sacred relics in the vaulted chamber of an old tower. They are rarely touched by anyone, but it is indeed a glorious treasure that our forefathers created." Nevertheless the Swiss were slow in exploiting this treasure to the full. Two centuries elapsed before Bodmer published selections from the St Gall manuscript of the *Nibelungenlied*[2]. His contemporaries were thus made aware that the Abbey library contained other things besides devotional works, Latin classics, and historical documents.

It was in Bodmer's day that mediæval German poetry first became the object of interest and research. For those who pursued this new branch of study, St Gall had more to offer than to the humanists of an earlier generation. The Swiss monastery was gradually coming into its own. It received in 1784 a curious mark of distinction from the German poet Bürger, the author of *Lenore*. In his translation of the old English ballad *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury*[3], the Emperor is substituted for the King, and Canterbury is replaced by St Gall. Evidently Bürger considered St Gall one of the representative abbeys of the Empire.

The German Romantic poets found a congenial home in Jena and Heidelberg. Their love of the Middle Ages led them to the

[1] Johann Stumpf, *Schweizerchronik*, Tom. v, pp. 15–17, Zürich, 1548.
[2] *Chriemhilden Rache und die Klage*, Zürich, 1757.
[3] *Der Kaiser und der Abt*, in *Bürgers Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Wurzbach, Leipzig, 1902, I, 179–183.

old cities of Nürnberg and Augsburg, but none of them passed through the valley of the Steinach. There was, however, an offshoot from the Romantic movement proper, known as the Swabian school, which gave St Gall as great a realm in romance as it had ever possessed in the world of material things.

Uhland, whom the little group of poets regarded as their leader, extolled in glowing language the Minnesänger of Upper Thurgau[1]: "In no other German-speaking district do we find so many knightly poets within such narrow limits as in those mountain valleys through which the Thur, the Sitter, and the Steinach flow on their tumultuous course, and at the spot where the Rhine enters Lake Constance." He then enumerates sixteen poets of the thirteenth century who were the ministerials, vassals or neighbours of the Abbot of St Gall.

"In the midst of this tuneful region," he proceeds, "stood the Abbey of St Gall, to which the cultivation of the land and the education of its inhabitants owed their existence. In the ninth and tenth centuries the monks were famous as musicians. Their hymns, to which they themselves set the music, passed into the general use of the Church. Also, at an early date, poems in the German language were written at the Abbey, and an old Teutonic epic (Walther and Hiltegund) was translated into Latin verse. Now these monks were engaged at the same time in training the sons of the local nobility in all subjects, and especially in music. Here therefore we may perhaps seek the germ which came to fruition in the poetry of chivalry."

In short, Uhland considers it not unlikely that St Gall was the *fons et origo* of Swabian lyric poetry. He was a scholar besides being a poet, and his conclusions proceeded from a close study of the subject. He had read Von Arx to some purpose, and derived from this scholar's voluminous work many of his facts[2]. In his historical drama *Herzog Ernst*, Uhland makes a passing reference to St Gall[3].

Although Scheffel is not usually considered as a member of the Swabian school, he was a native of Swabia and was profoundly influenced by Uhland. It would therefore not be out of

[1] *Walther von der Vogelweide, ein altdeutscher Dichter*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Hermann Fischer, Stuttgart, 1892, VI, 14–16.
[2] Cf. *Geschichten des Kantons St Gallen*, I, 475–7.
[3] *Gesammelte Werke*, II, 22.

place to treat him here. Few of those who enjoy the sunny humour of his songs and novels would guess what bitter disappointments Scheffel had undergone. In 1853 he returned home from Italy after a painful disillusionment. He had gone to the promised land of artists full of high hopes, but had finally grasped the bitter truth that he had no vocation for painting. He had already abandoned a safe career in the service of the state; his poetic nature had rebelled against the drudgery of juridical and administrative work.

He now turned to scholarship, and at twenty-seven years of age he decided to write a Privatdozent's thesis for Heidelberg University. A breakdown in health and an unhappy love affair interrupted his studies, and nearly a year passed before he was able to settle down to the subject he had chosen: the history of German law. With this purpose in view he worked through various volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, and it was there that he came across the *Casus S. Galli*[1]. The narrative of Ekkehard IV took such a hold on him that imperceptibly his plans changed, and finally, instead of a thesis he published a novel[2]. It was an unconventional proceeding and one which we could scarcely recommend to the generality of students, but it was fully justified by the event. The success was immediate and exceeded all expectation. No German novel had ever enjoyed such popularity before. After a good deal of trouble with publishers, Scheffel at last placed his book in reliable hands. He then had the unusual satisfaction of seeing it pass through eighty-six editions.

The genesis of *Ekkehard* could not be described better than by the words of its author:

> As I read the naïve Latin narrative of that monastic chronicle, the towers and walls of the Abbey of St Gall seemed to take visible shape before my eyes; many grey, venerable heads wandered up and down the cloisters; they sat behind the old manuscripts that they had once written; the pupils of the school ran and played in the courtyard; the canonical office was sung in the choir of the church, and the watchman's horn re-echoed from the tower. But more conspicuous

[1] *Vide* Scheffel's *Ekkehard, Vorwort*; *Gesammelte Werke*, I, 100, Stuttgart, 1909.

[2] English translation in Everyman Series, No. 529.

than all the others was the figure of that noble and majestic lady who took away with her the young and handsome teacher from the precincts of the Abbey in order to transplant to her rock-built castle by the Lake of Constance the culture of classic poets; the simple story the abbey chronicle relates of the quiet hours spent in reading Virgil at Hohentwiel is in itself a poem, as beautiful and true as any that was ever written[1].

So Scheffel set out to see the place of his dreams:

I seized my weapon, the pen, and one day said adieu to the folios that were the source of my visions and betook myself to the soil which was once trodden by Duchess Hadwig and her contemporaries, and I sat in the ancient library of St Gall and sailed in a rolling, pitching boat over the Lake of Constance, and I took up my quarters by the old lime-tree on the slope of the Hohentwiel, where now a worthy old Swabian *Schultheiss* guards the ruins of the old fortress, and finally I climbed the windy mountain heights of the Säntis, where the Wildkirchli, like an eagle's eyrie, looks boldly down at the green valleys of Appenzell. There, in the land of the Swabian sea, my soul filled with memories of bygone days, my heart refreshed with the warm sunshine and the aromatic mountain air, I planned this story and there I penned the greater part of it.

The opening scene of the novel is placed at Hohentwiel. We see Duchess Hadwig of Swabia, the young and beautiful widow, for whose hand a Byzantine emperor had sued in vain, with her female attendant, the Greek slave Praxedis. The Duchess is ill at ease; none of her usual pastimes bring any relief, and so, with her customary impulsiveness[2], she decides to go on a journey. She arrives at the monastery of St Gall and demands admission.

Abbot Craloh brings the matter before the Chapter. The rules of their order strictly forbid the entrance of a woman, but the Duchess is the protectress of the Abbey and too powerful to be offended. Ekkehard, the *portarius*, who teaches Virgil in the school, suggests a way out of the difficulty: no woman is allowed to walk over the threshold, but there is no rule to forbid them carrying the Duchess over it. The proposal is approved and Ekkehard himself entrusted with its execution. In the course of her inspection of the monastic buildings, Hadwig visits the school, and the whim seizes her to learn Latin. Ekkehard praises

[1] Scheffel, *Gesammelte Werke*, III, 24.
[2] "Acutia sua versipelli," *Ekkeharti Casus*, p. 331.

the value of scholarship and his enthusiasm communicates itself to the Duchess. She asks the *portarius* to be her teacher. On her departure the only gift she will accept is a copy of Virgil from the library. Abbot Craloh is ordered to send Ekkehard to expound the book to her. Not without misgivings he obeys.

Accordingly the young scholar goes to Hohentwiel, gives Hadwig instruction in Latin grammar and reads the *Æneid* with her. When they pursue their studies, the chambermaid Praxedis is always present and the door is left open lest anyone should think ill of them. The Hungarians invade the country and Ekkehard fights in the ranks of the monks against the pagan enemy. After peace is restored, the study of Virgil is resumed, but when they reach the fourth book, the story of Dido's love for her guest, Ekkehard can read no more.

Little by little his awe of the Duchess yields to a more tender feeling, while she is far from being indifferent to him. But she misinterprets his coldness as disdain and cannot forgive him for slighting her. His vows forbid him to express his love, and being ignorant of the ways of women, he often gives offence. His passion destroys his happiness; Hadwig's affection for him has been crushed by her pride. The crisis comes when, in a moment of madness, he embraces the Duchess in the chapel. The door opens and the monk's sin is disclosed to the world. He escapes to the hermitage of Wildkirchli in the Alps. In the mountain solitude he regains his peace of mind and expiates his crime. He sees no one but the cowherds and occupies his thoughts by composing an epic, the *Waltharilied.*

Scheffel gives us his own translation of the poem in the metre of the *Nibelungenlied* and in Uhland's style. It was this version that made the *Waltharilied* popular in Germany. It had previously been the property of a few scholars; it is now accessible to the whole nation.

In the closing scene of the novel we return to the Duchess: she is walking in her garden in a reverie, gazing at the Swiss mountains. An arrow flies over her head and remains transfixed in the ground. Round the shaft is wrapped the manuscript of the *Waltharilied* with the motto: "Blessed is he that overcometh."

Such is, in its main outlines, the story of Ekkehard and Hadwig, as related by Scheffel. But there are many minor episodes, loosely connected with the central theme. Scheffel was not particularly concerned about the unity of action and indulged freely in digressions. We almost lose sight of the two leading characters at critical moments of their career. The psychological development is at times briefly hinted at, instead of receiving adequate treatment. Nor do the interwoven stories add anything by way of contrast to the main plot. Scheffel's intention was to illustrate life in Swabia in the tenth century by a number of well-chosen scenes. None of the digressions has been so severely and so justly criticized as the chapter on Gunzo.

The chief fault of *Ekkehard* is that it is too much like a student's thesis, with its copious footnotes, bibliographical references, and learned instances. Not that Scheffel sacrificed picturesqueness to accuracy. He made no secret of the fact that he had taken considerable liberties with history. He altered dates and localities whenever it suited his purpose. He made the hero of his story the author of *Waltharius*, which was written by the Dean, Ekkehard I. He made Notker Balbulus and other monks of Salomo's reign contemporaries of Ekkehard II, and even of Notker Labeo, who lived a century later. Duke Burkhard of Swabia did not die till 973, hence Hadwig was not a widow in 925–6, the time of the Hungarian attack. The sudden appearance of Charles the Fat, who died in 888, at a battle which took place a century and a half later may perhaps be defended as a supernatural intervention.

Scheffel's aim was not to write an historical treatise, but to present to his fellow-countrymen of Swabia a true picture of the life and manners of their ancestors. In this he succeeded tolerably well. Thanks to his sound scholarship, he was guilty of few lapses. He was, however, wrong in thinking that in the tenth century the monks of St Gall were able to read Aristotle's *Logic* in the original, that St Gall's *cambutta* was a formidable cudgel, and that the Irish teacher Moengal was an ignorant buffoon. On one occasion Scheffel's philological knowledge fails him[1]. Nor

[1] The populace of Rorschach greet the Duchess with the cry: "Heil Herro! Heil Liebo!" *Herro* (Lord) and the adjective *liebo* are both masculine.

can it be denied that in one important respect he has unconsciously modified the social conditions of the age he attempted to depict. He allows the Duchess of Swabia to appear with a single chambermaid, a chamberlain, and a few subordinate servants. She leads an idyllic, sequestered life, and resembles a middle-class widow rather than the powerful sovereign of a warlike province. In her castle we miss the atmosphere of the court[1].

The novelist adopts Ekkehard IV's prejudices and preferences, e.g. his aversion to Reichenau, his idealization of Notker, Ratpert, and Tuotilo and other monks of Salomo's reign, with the notable exception of the wicked Sindolt. But the tragic love of Ekkehard and Hadwig is Scheffel's invention. Fact and fiction are harmoniously fused, and in spite of the digressions the interest is well sustained throughout the work.

In the second half of the novel, to be precise from Chapter 16 onwards, the autobiographical element is very much in evidence. Ekkehard becomes more and more like Scheffel at the time of his unhappy passion for Emma Heim. She did not return his love and he had the mortification of seeing her married to a more fortunate rival. Scheffel was present at the wedding in 1854, and his sufferings drove him to the verge of madness. He sought peace at the hermitage of Wildkirchli in the Säntis region. There he regained his physical and mental health, so that he was able to say with Ekkehard: "Blessed is he that overcometh."

Scheffel's novel appeared in 1857. Two years later Gustav Freytag published the first instalment of his *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*[2]. The subject of this volume is the Middle Ages; scenes are depicted from different periods with introductory and explanatory matter. Of the eleven chapters two are worthy of mention here. In the sixth, an account of Charlemagne's reign, there are *inter alia* two anecdotes from the *Gesta Caroli Magni* of Notker Balbulus. Freytag retells the story of how Charlemagne gave his courtiers a practical demonstration of the folly of wearing gay clothing[3], and he then proceeds to translate the passage relating how the great Emperor humbled

[1] Friedrich Panzer in *Scheffels Werke*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1919, III, 12–13.

[2] *Gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig, 1897, XVII.

[3] *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, II, 760–1.

an avaricious bishop[1]. The next chapter[2] is devoted to monastic life in the tenth century; the Abbey of St Gall is chosen as a typical centre of Benedictine monachism.

First Freytag traces the evolution of conventual life from Egyptian and Irish asceticism to the milder rule of St Benedict. He sketches the plan of a Benedictine abbey and gives an account of monastic education and discipline in Germany. After a few remarks on the history of St Gall, he quotes two lengthy passages from the *Casus S. Galli*, one dealing with the attack of the Hungarians, the other with Count Uodalrich and Wendilgard, their son Burkhard, Hadwig and Ekkehard II, the misdeeds of Ruodmann, the Abbot of Reichenau, etc.

As regards the first or introductory half of the chapter, we may note that Freytag confuses Bangor in Wales with Bangor in Ulster, and Wales with Cornwall. Apart from this and the very inaccurate statement that all Benedictine monasteries had a double school, the facts are pretty correct, but there is a fatal tendency to generalize, to deal loosely with the limitations of time and place, which is the main defect of the work as a whole. The lack of strict historical accuracy is to some extent compensated by the vigour and picturesqueness of the style. Freytag's genial humour, his ardent love of his country's past, are everywhere present. Like Scheffel he strove to create for the German people a true and living picture of the life of their ancestors, but he chose a wider canvas.

As far as St Gall is concerned, Freytag derived his information from Von Arx, the *Casus*, and Ferdinand Keller's monograph on the ground-plan of the Abbey; in the account of the Irish monks he used Keller's work on the Celtic manuscripts of Switzerland[3]. It is no disparagement of Freytag to say that the passages on the Hungarian attack and the birth of Burkhard, which are both translated from Ekkehard's *Casus S. Galli*, are the most interesting part of the chapter. I have already quoted the former elsewhere, and will now reproduce the latter[4], because it provides

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 737.
[2] Pp. 349–405. The references to St Gall are on pp. 360, 362, 366–7, 375–402.
[3] *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der Schweiz.*
[4] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, capp. 82–5, pp. 294–305. See the editor's valuable footnotes.

us with a curious example of the evolution of legend from history. It is only one of the many instances that could be given of the potent alchemy by which the monks of St Gall transmuted the crude ore of facts into the pure gold of poetry and romance. At the same time it will give us a further illustration of Ekkehard's skill as a story-teller.

Uodalrich, a certain Count of Charlemagne's line, took to wife Wendilgard, the granddaughter of King Henry. At his castle of Buchhorn[1] the Count heard the tidings that the Hungarians had invaded Bavaria, where he had some estates. He therefore attacked the enemy with a small force. He was, however, defeated, taken prisoner, and carried away to Hungary. (But those who consider the Hungarians to be Avars are very much in error.) The rumour having arisen that her husband was dead, Wendilgard was sought in marriage as if she were a widow, but, acting on divine inspiration, she refused to marry.

She obtained permission from Salomo to withdraw to St Gall, where she had a cell built by the side of Wiborada and lived on her own means. She gave generously to the monks and to the poor for the sake of her lost husband. But as she was very fond of sweetmeats and always hankered after novelty, having been brought up in luxury, and being accustomed to dainty fare, she was upbraided by Wiborada, who declared it was not a sign of modesty in a woman to desire variety of food. Then, one day, when she was sitting before the cell of her neighbour, talking to her, she asked Wiborada for some apples to eat, if she had any sweet ones. "I have some very good ones, such as the poor eat," replied the recluse, handing sour crab-apples to the greedy Countess, who snatched them out of her hand. But she had scarcely swallowed half a one before she grimaced, threw the others away, and said to Wiborada: "You are bitter and so are your apples," and being a scholar, she added: "If the Creator had made all apples like those, Eve would never have tasted evil[2]." "You do well," said Wiborada, "to mention Eve; for she was as greedy as you of dainty fare, and she too sinned in tasting an apple[3]."

[1] The modern Friedrichshafen.

[2] A play on the words *mālum* (apple) and *mălum* (evil).

[3] Scheffel makes use of this scene in *Ekkehard*, but Praxedis takes over the rôle of Wendilgard.

The high-born lady departed, put to shame by the lowly virgin. After this she made an effort to mend and ceased to covet the sweetmeats that came her way; and she grew so much in the favour of her great instructress that, at her request and with the permission of the synod, Bishop Salomo placed on her head the sacred veil she had previously refused. Thereupon she put aside worldly things so completely that she wished to be immured after the death of the recluse Rachildis, who was grievously ill.

The fourth sad anniversary of the day when she lost her husband was at hand, and Wendilgard, as was her wont, repaired to Buchhorn to give alms to the poor. And lo! Uodalrich, who by chance had escaped from captivity, was there hiding among the other ragged mendicants. He demanded a garment from her. Rebuking him for begging so shamelessly and boldly, she nevertheless gave him what he asked. But he seized the hand of the donor together with the gift, drew her to him, embraced her and kissed her, whether she would or no. When the bystanders threatened to strike him, he thrust back his long hair from his face, and said: "Spare me your blows, for I have borne too many already, and recognize Uodalrich, your lord!"

His retainers were amazed to hear the voice of their master and to see his well-known face among the shaggy hair. They saluted him clamorously and the menials also shouted their welcome. Wendilgard, however, was confounded, as if she had been wronged. "Now I feel for the first time," she said, "that Uodalrich is dead, since I must suffer insult at the hands of a stranger." But when he stretched out his hand towards her she saw an old scar, and, as if awakening from a dream, she cried: "My lord, dearest of all men! Hail, my lord! Hail, thou ever beloved one!" And after kissing and embracing him, she said to the attendants: "Clothe your master in a new robe and hasten at once to prepare a bath for him."

When he was clothed he said: "Let us go to the church," and on the way he asked: "Tell me, who placed this veil on thy head?" On hearing that the Bishop had done it in the synod, he said to her softly: "I may not embrace thee yet without his permission." Meanwhile the clergy, many of whom had assembled

on that day, struck up hymns of praise to God, and the people sang them to the end. They celebrated masses for a living, not for a dead lord. The news spread quickly, and, as is usual, attracted a large concourse. A feast was given and the rejoicings continued for several days.

Soon the synod met. Uodalrich besought the bishop to give back to him the wife whom he had presented to God. The bishop took off her veil, and by decree of the synod it was placed in a chest in the church, so that if her husband died before her, she could assume it again. Then their marriage was celebrated anew. The child that was born to Wendilgard was dedicated before its birth to the cloisters and later became Abbot Burkhard of St Gall.

All the characters in this little drama are historical personages, but the original story of Uodalrich has been grafted on a primeval myth, of which the return of Ulysses is the best-known version. Not a single motive is missing: we have the faithful widow, the importunate suitors, the presence of the hero among the ragged beggars, the scar that leads to recognition, the happy reunion. Uhland, who translated the passage from Ekkehard, makes some interesting comments[1].

Curiously enough, in the literature of Switzerland the Abbey of St Gall plays a less important part than in that of Germany. The two greatest writers of the German-speaking Cantons, Gottfried Keller and C. F. Meyer, never attempted to follow in Scheffel's footsteps. Yet St Gall provided each of them with a motive of which he made very successful use. In Ekkehard's *Casus*[2] Gottfried Keller found the story of Abbot Salomo and the fair Kunigunda.

In his wild youth Salomo had sinned with a nobleman's daughter. She took the veil and became Abbess of the Fraumünster convent at Zürich, as a result of Salomo's influence at court. Their daughter was educated in the convent by her mother. The maiden had the misfortune to inflame the passion of King Arnulf. She treated his dishonourable advances with the contempt they deserved, but the King pursued her with such

[1] *Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage*, VIII, 396–9, Stuttgart, 1873. [2] *Casus S. Galli*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 29, pp. 112–13.

importunity that she was obliged to flee from one place to another to avoid him. Finally Kunigunda frustrated Arnulf's evil intentions by giving her daughter in marriage to a certain Notker of the St Gall region.

Such is Ekkehard's narrative. Keller made various changes. He placed the events in the fourteenth century. This made it necessary to alter the names of Bishop Salomo and King Arnulf, since they were both prominent characters in late Carolingian history. Accordingly they are called Heinrich von Klingenberg and Count Wernher von Homberg respectively; the Bishop retains the imperial Chancellorship, but loses his Abbey of St Gall. Heinrich's daughter is christened Fides and she is identified with the lady to whom the Swiss poet Hadlaub dedicated his love-poems. Hadlaub is chosen as the hero of Keller's story[1], and the Manesse manuscript of *Minnelieder* is brought into connection with him[2].

The greater part of the plot deals with Hadlaub and his love for Fides, but Keller does not lose sight of the motive borrowed from Ekkehard. Although they never meet alone, the Bishop and Kunigunda have not entirely succeeded in overcoming their guilty passion, which, thanks to the eminence of their station and the laxity of the age, almost escapes public censure. Their daughter judges things by a higher standard. Her knowledge of her illustrious, yet shameful birth is a source of profound humiliation to her. Not so to Hadlaub. Her misfortunes bring her closer to him in the social scale. Fides is first the unattainable object of his dreams; his respectful attachment ripens into a deeper emotion, and after many trials and difficulties he finally woos and wins the lady of his heart.

It is quite characteristic that Keller should choose the Middle Ages, and what is more, the past of his beloved Zürich, as the setting of his charming idyll. It is equally characteristic that C. F. Meyer should select the Italian Renaissance as his period and an Italian scholar as the hero of his narrative. He had read[3]

[1] *Hadlaub*, the first of the series of *Zürcher Novellen*. There is a good popular account of it in Marie Hay, *The Story of a Swiss Poet*, Berne, 1920, pp. 130–152.

[2] Cf. K. Bertram, *Quellenstudien zu Kellers Hadlaub*, Berlin, 1906.

[3] Apparently in Th. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Alterthums*, I, 237 sqq.

how Poggio's search for old classical manuscripts was rewarded by the discovery of a *Quintilian* at St Gall. Meyer substituted Plautus for Quintilian, and instead of a monastery Poggio visits a convent. We know from the title of the first edition[1], which was later suppressed, that the locality was the mountainous village of Trogen, about six miles from St Gall. The trickery by which the precious codex is stolen from the "ultramontane barbarians" was invented by the novelist[2]. I do not find any further allusion to St Gall in *Plautus im Nonnenkloster*.

References to the Abbey in English and French literature are few and far between. Perhaps the most important is in *Anne of Geierstein*. Scott remarks in his preface: "The records which contained the outlines of the history, and might be referred to as proof of its veracity, were long preserved in the superb library of the Monastery of Saint Gall, but perished, with many of the literary treasures of that establishment, when the convent was plundered by the French Revolutionary armies." This is, of course, entirely fictitious. No such records existed, and though the victorious armies of Republican France entered St Gall, the library had already been sent to a place of safety, whence it later returned intact. Scott himself had never been to Switzerland. The only passage about St Gall in French literature that has come to my notice is in Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*. He asserts that the Monk of St Gall was the creator of the legendary element in the story of Charlemagne[3].

[1] *Das Brigittchen von Trogen*.

[2] For the other sources *vide* R. D'Harcourt, *C.-F. Meyer, Sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris, 1913, pp. 499–502.

[3] Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 120.

CHAPTER XI

THE ABBEY LIBRARY AND ITS MANUSCRIPTS

The philologist and the palæographer, the historian and the liturgiologist, all find in the Abbey Library[1] an almost inexhaustible field for research. In some respects it is unrivalled and unique. A distinguished French scholar has succinctly described its peculiar advantages[2].

"De toutes les bibliothèques des anciens monastères francs," he writes, "aucune ne nous fournit, pour l'histoire locale du texte de la Bible, autant de ressources que la bibliothèque conventuelle de Saint-Gall. Tout collabore à faciliter une étude telle que la nôtre: une bibliothèque qui n'a jamais été déplacée, des inventaires du IX^e^ siècle recommencés au XV^e^, des chroniques dont les auteurs s'appellent Ratpert et Ekkehard, et où l'histoire de nos manuscrits est mêlée aux récits les plus captivants, enfin un fonds d'archives aussi riche que bien entretenu, où se retrouvent fréquemment la signature et l'écriture des copistes de nos bibles, tels sont les instruments de travail que nous y trouvons réunis."

This eulogy is as just as it is well expressed, but the assertion that the library has never been displaced is rhetorical rather than literally true; for on three different occasions the books were removed.

(i) During the Hungarian invasion (c. 925) they were sent to Reichenau for safety. Ekkehart relates that, according to tradition (ut aiunt), the right number of books was returned, but not the identical volumes[3]. It has been suggested that this accounts for the disappearance of a Priscian manuscript, which is mentioned in the oldest catalogue and then unaccountably disappears, while the Irish Priscian (No. 904) just as mysteriously turns up[4].

[1] This collection must not be confused with the Vadiana, or Municipal Library, of which the nucleus is formed by the books of Vadianus; some of them are from the Abbey.

[2] Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 113.

[3] *Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 51, p. 197.

[4] Nigra, *Reliquie Celtiche*, p. 14. This writer mentions another alternative, viz. that No. 904 was purchased by the librarian, Notker Balbulus. This is, I think, unlikely.

If the latter was intentionally substituted for the St Gall copy, the monks of Reichenau must have thought it a good joke to be rid of an illegible *Liber scottice scriptus*, made of very inferior parchment, and to obtain in exchange a brand new Priscian.

(ii) In 1712 the Bernese and Zurichois took away the greater part of the library with them as booty, and sold the remainder by auction, with the exception of a few volumes that were entrusted to the care of one of the most eminent citizens of St Gall. After the conclusion of peace, the Bernese handed over practically all the books they had taken, but the Zurichois only made partial restitution of the spoils. According to one estimate, about 150 St Gall manuscripts remained in Zürich; they include a copy of Quintilian, the poems of Statius, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and a Priscian[1]. There are at least two St Gall codices at Berne[2].

(iii) In 1798, on the approach of the French Revolutionary army, the books were temporarily removed to a place of safety; they returned intact in 1805.

Other calamities befell the Abbey library at different times. After the fire of 937 some volumes are said to have been stolen[3]. In the decline of the monastery improvident abbots raised funds by the criminal expedient of selling valuable codices; some of the losses thus sustained were, however, made good later. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, when the culture of the mind had almost entirely deserted St Gall, some of the most ancient manuscripts were destroyed by those who ought to have preserved them from injury. The writing was erased and the parchment used again for liturgical texts. Other codices, and also the oldest charters, were used for binding books. Many of these were re-discovered by Ildefons von Arx, who collected six volumes of mutilated fragments.

The Council of Constance had unfortunate consequences for the library. It was attended by ecclesiastics from all parts of the world, who sent to Reichenau and St Gall for works of reference. At the end of their deliberations, which lasted for four years, they returned to their homes, and took the books with them. This probably accounts for the disappearance of manu-

[1] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 423–436.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 97–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20; cf. pp. 25–6.

scripts containing the decrees of councils and of popes. It was a very unfortunate circumstance for St Gall that the government of the Abbey was then in the hands of the illiterate and incapable Heinrich von Gundelfingen (1411–17). It was no less unfortunate that among the officials of the papal court, who were present at Constance, there were three of the most cultured and most unscrupulous representatives of the Italian Renaissance, Poggio Bracciolini, Cencio, and Bartolome of Monte Politiano.

They had no difficulty in obtaining access to the library, where they found a plentiful supply of manuscripts. In return for a receipt they were allowed to take away as many as they liked. They were not slow to take advantage of such a favourable opportunity; it is said that two cart-loads of books were removed to Constance[1]. There was a complete copy of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* and several other unique codices. Poggio was wild with enthusiasm. He copied the Quintilian in fifty-four days and sent the transcript to his friends at Florence. This work was sent back to St Gall, but many of the others went over the Alps to Italy. In 1417 Poggio continued his search for classical authors at St Gall and was well rewarded for his pains. In their correspondence both he and his friend Cencio boast of their finds, but very wisely refrain from giving exact data[2]. The Abbot of St Gall was ordered to send a number of books to Basel at the time of the Council; they were never returned[3].

The ease with which the Italian humanists had been able to despoil the conventual libraries of Germany and Switzerland resulted in measures to prevent a repetition of such events. The Bursfeld Congregation of Benedictine Abbeys in the province of Mainz (to which St Gall then belonged) ordered that in all monasteries two precentors should undertake the duties of a librarian. Abbot Kaspar (1442–57) took the most stringent precautions to protect the books committed to his care; and in 1461 the Visitors of the Congregation gave orders that a complete inventory of the St Gall library should be drawn up. With a few exceptions, every codex was provided with a press-mark,

[1] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Stiftsbibliothek von St Gallen*, p. 43, n. 122.
[2] R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, pp. 77–80; E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus Leben und Werke*, pp. 51–7.
[3] Weidmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

and, if necessary, it was rebound. Unfortunately some of the most ancient manuscripts were destroyed in the bookbinders' workshop in order to provide the necessary strips of parchment[1]. The first catalogue, written in the ninth century, enumerates some 400 volumes. In 1461 there were well over 500. Evidently the books copied in the interval, and especially between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, more than outweighed all the losses that had been suffered.

It is not surprising to find St Gall manuscripts in a large number of European libraries. The codices that were dispersed in 1712 or later can generally be recognized by the book-stamp with the Abbey coat-of-arms: a bear rampant, surmounted by a mitre and crozier. Those that went astray earlier do not bear this distinguishing sign, which was added at the end of the seventeenth century, but many of them are marked "Liber S. Galli." Liturgical texts written at the Abbey often contain references to local saints: St Gall, St Othmar, St Wiborada, etc.

As an example of the peregrinations of St Gall manuscripts, we may take the history of a codex that is now in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow[2]. It contains excerpts from Servius' *Commentary* on Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, beautifully written on vellum in the tenth century and rebound in the seventeenth century. On folio 1 r. there is the heraldic device with the legend *Monast. Sanc. Galli*, and above it are the words *Liber SS. Galli atque Othmari Commentarii Sergii* (sic) *Grammatici in Bucolica Virgilii*: this also was added in the seventeenth century. Below, to the left, is the inscription: *Petri Burmanni Secundi.* This manuscript was at St Gall in the tenth century; there is a reference to it in the oldest catalogue, not in the first hand, but in a later marginal note[3]. It was still in the Abbey library at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was taken away by the Zurichois in the civil war; we know this because it is mentioned in an inventory of the books appropriated in 1712, which

[1] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek*, pp. 238, 457, 470–1.

[2] U. 6. 8. See description in John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum*, p. 233, Glasgow, 1908.

[3] Weidmann, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Scherrer, p. 296.

was made by the St Gall librarian Pius Kolb[1]. The manuscript passed into the hands of the Dutch philologist Pieter Burmann, Junior (1714–78), who used it for his edition of Virgil (1746) and referred to it in the preface. It then came into the possession of William Hunter (1718–83), a diligent collector of old books, who bequeathed it, together with his entire library, to his *alma mater*, the ancient University of Glasgow. Before leaving the manuscript we may add that, on the first leaf, a scribe wrote part of the sentence: "Adnexi globum" etc., which, as we saw in the Chapter on the School, was used for teaching writing at St Gall. There are two coloured initials, one has the shape of a bird, the capital headings and rubrics are painted in silver.

Thus, even in Scotland, a thousand miles from the valley of the Steinach, we can admire the workmanship of the St Gall monks. They proved themselves not unworthy of the great traditions of their order. They copied hundreds of classical and sacred manuscripts, and produced many a masterpiece of calligraphy and decorative art. They were acquainted with nearly all the best Latin authors; in the ninth and tenth century they transcribed and studied Terence, Lucretius, Sallust, Cicero, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Vitruvius, Persius, Lucan, Quintilian, Statius, Juvenal, Lactantius, Claudian, Boethius and the grammarians Donatus and Priscian. As regards Greek, they possessed the text of the *Psalter* and the *Gospels*, also a copy of Dositheus. I consider it likely that they were familiar with other profane Greek authors. At least one classical writer would have been lost for posterity if it were not for the monks of St Gall: the only manuscript of Asconius known in the fifteenth century was the *Codex Sangallensis*[2]; the same thing is true of Statius' *Silvæ*[3].

There are, as a rule, three distinct stages in the evolution of these texts. First we have those written in Italy, or Africa, or Gaul, before the collapse of the Roman Empire. Next comes a transcript made in the ninth century by a Benedictine monk. The Carolingian manuscript is copied again, let us say, by an Italian humanist in the fifteenth century, and finally the text

[1] Weidmann, p. 439.

[2] Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 192.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 168; cf. however Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, pp. 81–2.

is fixed by the printing-press. The different stages are all represented in the St Gall library. In the *Book of Fragments*, No. 1394[1], there are eleven leaves from a fourth or fifth century copy of Virgil, in square capital-writing. Bound in the same volume[2] there are two folio leaves which are all that remains of the Virgil presented to the library by Abbot Grimald and mentioned in the oldest catalogue. Two leaves of rustic capital-writing are preserved in another codex[3]; they date from the fifth century. A palimpsest, of which the upper script is a Latin vocabulary, consists of fragments of five ancient manuscripts[4]; in one of the latter there were the poems of Flavius Merobaudes, in another Vegetius—both in Roman uncials. In another palimpsest[5] we find a considerable portion of Lactantius' *Divinæ Institutiones*. There are several fragments in uncials of the seventh century[6]. In the latter we see the first results of the cultivation of learning in Italian monasteries, for the codices in question were copied at some such centre as Bobbio or Monte Cassino. It was the work of the St Gall monks to transcribe classical archetypes of the fourth and fifth century, or post-classical codices of the sixth and seventh[7], thus preserving for posterity the writings of antiquity.

At first the poverty of the Abbey was a great hindrance to intellectual progress. The scribe Winithar, writing in the second half of the eighth century, complained that there was not a single page in the book he was writing which he had not acquired by his own efforts, either by purchase or begging (mendicando); he proudly added that there was not a stroke or a dot which he had not made with his own hand. The thick, coarse parchment, patched and full of holes, is an honourable testimony to the economy and industry of the St Gall monks[8]. From the time of Gozbert onwards, the Abbey was free from material care.

[1] Pp. 7–49; facsimiles in E. M. Thompson, *Palæography*, p. 185, and *Palæographical Society*, Plate 208 (First Series).
[2] Pp. 109–112.
[3] No. 912, pp. 299–300, 313–314.
[4] No. 908.
[5] No. 213.
[6] *Vide* Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 161, 164, 186–9; Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 639.
[7] There are at St Gall several complete manuscripts of the seventh century, e.g. Nos. 188, 226, 730—all written in Italy.
[8] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, p. 4.

Parchment of the finest quality was to be had in abundance. Under the supervision of enlightened abbots, a number of well-trained scribes were constantly employed in copying manuscripts. Those who were engaged in this task were allowed to recite the canonical office privately but they had to go to the choir on Sundays and festivals. Ratpert seems to have enjoyed a similar privilege as a teacher[1].

Under Grimald and his successors the library developed rapidly. We still find some fifty Biblical manuscripts written before the year 1000. M. Berger[2] praises the methodical care with which they were transcribed. The St Gall scriptorium had a tradition of its own, which had an uninterrupted continuity. It can often be ascertained from what model a given manuscript was copied, because of the marginal corrections in the original. No foreign influences disturbed the local traditions of St Gall. The old catalogue enumerated forty-one Biblical codices, thirty-one of which are at present preserved.

These manuscripts were written or corrected by the hand of Abbot Hartmuot. Not a single one was copied entirely by him, but all were written under his personal supervision. As M. Berger puts it: "Hartmut en effet est beaucoup moins un écrivain qu'un éditeur, ou, pour mieux dire, un chef d'atelier et un directeur d'école[3]." So great was the discipline in the Carolingian schools that all the codices we are now considering seem to be the work of one scribe. At the end of one manuscript[4] there are two leaves in Hartmuot's hand: the rubrics are absent. They are line for line, and word for word the model of four pages of the finished codex.

As regards the share of the Irish monks in the work of the St Gall scriptorium, we may attribute to their efforts the study of Greek, and the introduction of such writers as Priscian, Charisius, Lactantius, Sedulius, and Johannes Scotus[5]. From the middle of the ninth century onwards the Irish commentated

[1] Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, p. 165.
[2] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 113, 125–130. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 126.
[4] No. 81. To M. Berger belongs the merit of this discovery. The skilful imitation of Hartmuot's hand deceived Scherrer, who ascribed the whole manuscript to him, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 33.
[5] Traube, *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, I, 99–101.

Boethius; a copy of the *Arithmetica* in insular script was to be found in the library in Hartmuot's time[1]. We are, however, not told whether it contained glosses. Pelagius was a writer mainly preserved by the Irish[2]. His commentary on the *Epistles of St Paul* is mentioned in the oldest St Gall catalogue as *Expositio Pelagii super omnes epistolas Pauli in vol.* 1[3]; it is still preserved[4], but the name of the author is absent, since Pelagius was a heretic. There is no doubt that the Irish monks submitted to the strict discipline of the St Gall scriptorium, and adopted the Carolingian minuscule in the works they transcribed. The various manuscripts and charters written by Moengal are all in Continental script, nor have I been able to detect any essential difference between his hand and that of his Swabian contemporaries.

During the reign of Abbot Grimald (841–872) the first catalogue of the St Gall library was made. It is still preserved in Codex 728, pp. 4–21[5]; in a later copy we are told which books were written under Grimald and which were added in Hartmuot's abbacy[6]; finally there is a list of the volumes bequeathed to the Abbey by Grimald. The librarians of that time executed their task with scrupulous care. If a book was borrowed or lent by some other scriptorium in order to be copied, the fact was duly recorded, and when the codex was returned, this was also noted. Thus, we find that Gregory's *Homilies* were borrowed from Reichenau and sent back on the completion of the transcript[7]. At St Gall, as at other mediæval monasteries, a peculiar precaution was taken to prevent the unauthorized removal of books. In the manuscripts left to the Abbey by Hartmuot, a terrible curse is invoked on anyone who may steal the codex.

As the date of this ancient catalogue is of the greatest importance for the palæographer, it might be as well briefly to recapitulate the results obtained by R. Stettiner in his investigation of the subject[8]. In Codex 728, pp. 4–18, there are two hands, and marginal notes in a third; pp. 18–21 are a later

[1] Weidmann, p. 365.
[2] Traube, *loc. cit.*, p. 170; Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, pp. 169 sqq.
[3] Weidmann, p. 381. [4] Codex 73.
[5] Printed in Weidmann, pp. 364–396, and in G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, pp. 43–53.
[6] Becker, pp. 53–4. [7] Weidmann, p. 369.
[8] *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1895), pp. 94–6, 111–17.

addition. The first hand is placed by Stettiner before 872, probably before 865; the entries also contained in No. 267, pp. 25–8, are subsequent to 841. The second scribe wrote before 883, probably before 879; the books also mentioned in No. 267, pp. 25–8, were written before 872. Codex 267 is a copy of No. 728 without the marginal notes; it was written during Hartmuot's abbacy (872–883), probably between 881 and 883, because in the list of books given by Grimald the passage "Imperatori Carolo dedit dominus Hartmotus" occurs. Charles the Fat was crowned in 881 and died in 888. The catalogue proper is followed by three supplements:

(i) pp. 25–8. All the books in this part were written under Grimald (841–872); with one exception, *Visiones Wettini et Baronti*, they are all enumerated in No. 728, most of them in the first hand.

(ii) pp. 28–30. Nearly all these volumes, which were copied in Hartmuot's abbacy, are to be found in No. 728, and are written in the second hand of that codex.

(iii) pp. 30–2. These are the books bequeathed by Grimald. None of them can be recognized in No. 728. Ratpert copied these three supplements in his *Casus S. Galli*[1].

After the death of Abbot Salomo in 920, the copying of manuscripts was continued at St Gall, but no longer with the same energy and method. From the time of Ulrich von Sax (1204–20) to the middle of the fifteenth century there was almost a complete standstill, but after the arrival of the Hirschfeld monks in 1430 the task of increasing the library was resumed. Soon the Abbey became independent of outside assistance and had several scribes who were distinguished by skill and industry[2]. Abbots Ulrich Rösch (1463–91) and Francis (1504–29) re-established the reputation of St Gall as a centre of learning. The copying and the purchase of books were steadily pursued. One of the most important acquisitions was that of Gilg Tschudi's library in 1768. In the same year a number of St Gall manuscripts, including one written in the ninth century by Folchart, were burnt at St Blasien, where the learned Gerbert had been using them[3].

[1] Ed. Von Knonau, capp. 26, 29–30, pp. 47–8, 53–5.
[2] Weidmann, pp. 51–2.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 130–3.

In the Carolingian ground-plan the library is situated to the east of the north transept, adjoining the choir of the Abbey Church; it is opposite the sacristy. Under the library was the scriptorium, in which books were written and illuminated. From an old miniature[1] we know that the furniture of this literary workshop included a desk with a cushioned seat and a footstool. In front of the scribe there was a writing-board on a high stand. The position of the building was in conformity with the advice of Vitruvius, who urged that libraries should look towards the east, in order that they might be well lighted in the morning; if they faced west or south they would be exposed to the moist winds that injure books[2].

In 1461, however, a large proportion of the books were in the tower built by Abbot Hartmuot[3] at the north-west corner of the church, for Poggio distinctly states that the Quintilian and other manuscripts were not in the library, as works of such importance deserved to be, but in an abominable and dark prison, on the floor of a tower. Incidentally we may observe that he had a strong motive for exaggerating the unsuitability of the place, because it might, to some extent, justify his actions. Cencio corroborates his statement by mentioning first the library and then the tower; he saw valuable codices in both[4]. Vadianus informs us that, at the time of the Reformation, the books were still in the *Schulturm*[5]; the latter was pulled down in 1666, but before this date the library had been removed to the west wing of the new conventual buildings erected by Abbot Diethelm in 1551[6]. In 1758 the present library was completed on the same site[7]. It is in the most westerly part of the former monastic buildings; to the east is the cloister court. The interior is decorated with magnificent frescoes, depicting four of the Councils of the Church, and eight of the Fathers. The many English

[1] Reproduced and fully described in Meyer von Knonau, *Das Lebensbild des heiligen Notker*.
[2] Quoted by Weidmann, pp. 121–2, n. 327.
[3] In 867. [4] Weidmann, pp. 39–40.
[5] Joachim von Watt, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, ed. Götzinger, I, 185.
[6] A. Hardegger, *Die alte Stiftskirche und die ehemaligen Klostergebäude in St Gallen*, p. 62.
[7] Adolf Fäh und Kreuzmann, *Die Kathedrale in St Gallen und die Stiftsbibliothek*.

visitors to St Gall may observe with legitimate pride that the portraits of the Fathers close with the representations of Anselm and Bede. There are also scenes from the life of St Gall. The bookcases are carved with all the resources of the Rococo style.

After the secularization of the Abbey in 1805 the library was not disturbed. In 1824 Ildefons von Arx, the most learned of the surviving monks, was appointed librarian. Until his death in 1833 he carried out with distinction the honourable duties of an office that had been held nearly a thousand years before by Notker Balbulus. The manuscript notes which he appended to so many codices still testify to his scrupulous accuracy, his sound judgment, and his vast erudition. He edited the original sources of St Gall history and wrote a history of the Canton which, though obviously out-of-date with regard to details, still remains the standard work on the subject. His successor, Franz Weidmann, wrote the history of the library and edited the oldest catalogues.

We will now consider the present state of the St Gall library. In 1846 there were 18,000 printed volumes; the number has increased materially since. About a quarter of them are folio volumes, and they are remarkable for the large proportion of incunabula; there are no less than 1130 books that appeared between the invention of printing and 1520. There is a very valuable collection of old Bibles[1]. Modern literature, except that relating to the Abbey, is not well represented: this is the domain of the Municipal Library.

The manuscripts amount to 1725, and are at present divided into thirteen different classes[2]. The subjects are as follows:

(i)	Nos. 1– 84.	Bibles (complete or single books).
(ii)	,, 85–337.	Patristic writings; ecclesiastical authors.
(iii)	,, 337*b*–546.	Liturgical and devotional works.
(iv)	,, 547–669.	Lives of saints; profane history; geography; historical poems.
(v)	,, 670–749.	Canon Law; Roman and Teutonic Law.
(vi)	,, 750–762.	Medicine.
(vii)	,, 763–815.	Dogmatic and ascetic literature.

[1] For further information about the printed books *vide* Weidmann, pp. 462–476; for the collection of coins, *ibid.*, pp. 476–8.

[2] Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, pp. iii–iv.

(viii)	Nos.	816– 849.	Philosophy and mathematics.
(ix)	,,	850– 913.	Latin classics and their commentators; grammars; glosses.
(x)	,,	914– 935.	Rules of monastic orders.
(xi)	,,	936–1014.	Writings of ascetics.
(xii)	,,	1015–1081.	Sermons and didactic literature.
(xiii)	,,	1082–1093.	Antiquarian and heraldic works.

The remaining manuscripts are not arranged in systematic order; the greater part of them are of modern date, and nearly all are of paper, whereas parchment and vellum predominate in Nos. 1–1093. No. 226 is a fragment of papyrus written in Italy in the seventh century; it contains selections from Isidore and other ecclesiastical writers. We have already had occasion to refer to many of the manuscripts preserved in the conventual library; for further details the reader is referred to the Index at the end of this book.

CHAPTER XII

GENERAL ESTIMATE

The history of St Gall is that of Benedictine monachism in miniature. We might extend the parallel further and compare the Irish cell with the pre-Benedictine period of extreme austerity. Up to the time of Gozbert (816–837), the monks were chiefly engaged in hard manual labour, in gardening and agriculture[1]. With the help of their serfs, who were by no means numerous, they cleared the forest and converted it into arable land. They gathered in their crops, tended their flocks and herds, in short, supplied all the needs of the small self-supporting community. There was little leisure or opportunity for intellectual pursuits.

All this changed in the ninth century. As a result of frequent and liberal benefactions, the Abbey acquired fame and wealth. An army of several hundred *mancipia*[2] sufficed for all the arduous work, so that the monks were able to devote themselves more and more to the culture of the mind. Two circumstances materially accelerated this process. One was the custom of taking holy orders[3]. In the congregation of pious laymen over whom Abbot Othmar presided, and whose numbers were in the neighbourhood of 50, two, or at the most three priests performed the various functions of the sacerdotal office, but in the year 895 among 101 monks there were no less than 42 priests, 24 deacons, and 15 subdeacons. The remaining 20 are described as "aliorum ordinum," i.e. in lower orders[4]. The small monastery of Rheinau supported 22 priests in a total community of 43[5]. It would appear that to be ordained was the normal lot of a religious at St Gall in the tenth century.

The other circumstance was the increase of ritual. However

[1] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 2–4.

[2] There is an excellent account of villeinage at St Gall in Bikel, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Klosters St Gallen*, pp. 234–246.

[3] Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, pp. 293–4.

[4] Codex 614, p. 76, marginal note.

[5] Nomina Fratrum de Monasterio Rinauva (c. 860) in *St Gallisches Verbrüderungsbuch*, ed. E. Arbenz, p. 51.

faithfully the Benedictines carried out the principle of individual poverty, they spared no expense in the adornment of the church, the development and enrichment of religious rites. Even the Cluniacs, who affected the stern simplicity of an earlier age, strove to add grandeur and solemnity to the services of the church. The Cistercians alone, those Puritans of Catholicism, combated this general tendency of the Benedictine order.

St Gall and his original disciples were content to worship in an inconspicuous chapel, to celebrate mass only on Sundays and high solemnities. In the reign of Abbot Salomo the abbey church was resplendent with stained-glass windows and ornate chandeliers. The altars were embellished with gold and silver reliefs and covered with costly cloths. The flat roof was richly decorated, the walls painted with frescoes on a gold background. The carved ivory crucifixes, the reliquaries set with precious stones, the rich bindings of the office-books, the beauty of the sacred utensils and priestly vestments, all combined to dazzle the eyes of the countless pilgrims who travelled from far and near to worship at the shrine of the Saint.

In this magnificent sanctuary mass was said daily and twice on Sundays or saints' days. In the course of time the masses had been multiplied and the liturgical text enlarged by the addition of tropes. Meanwhile the canonical office had undergone various modifications. Prime and compline were originally the informal prayers of the monks at the commencement and close of the day; at St Gall they were sung in the dormitory. Later they were transferred to the choir of the church and considerably expanded[1]. The monks of St Gall borrowed many of these new elements in the missal and breviary from other monasteries. The influence of the Roman use made itself increasingly felt. But Notker Balbulus and his contemporaries learned to write introit-tropes, sequences, and metrical hymns themselves. They also distinguished themselves by the composition of litanies[2]. They fitted themselves for their task by the study of the Scriptures, of the Fathers, of writers on grammar and versification, of Christian and even of pagan poets.

[1] Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, translated by A. M. Y. Baylay, pp. 74–5, London, 1912.

[2] Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 3.

Under Othmar the monks of St Gall had been tillers of the soil, herdsmen and artisans. In the ninth century they still took their turns at the kitchen and bakery, but there were among them fresco-painters, architects, sculptors, goldsmiths, calligraphers and scholars of repute. The erection and decoration of the new buildings afforded abundant scope for the manifold activities of the artist, while the care of the liturgy engrossed the attention of those who possessed literary and musical ability.

Nor must we neglect other causes that contributed to this development. St Gall enjoyed the favour of the Carolingian emperors and benefited enormously by their reforms, more especially by those of Charlemagne. As a direct result of the imperial edicts, the monks of St Gall set to work to translate the *Benedictine Rule*, the *Paternoster* and the *Creed* into the vulgar tongue in order that every religious might become familiar with the principles of his order, and that every layman might be acquainted with the rudiments of his faith. From such interlinear glosses we trace the first beginnings of German prose. Thanks to the efforts of such men as Waldo, Grimald, Hartmuot, and Salomo, the full impact of the Carolingian renaissance made itself felt at St Gall, while Moengal brought with him all the learning of the Irish schools.

The Abbey of St Gall was situated at a considerable altitude, in close proximity to impenetrable forests and inaccessible mountains, but its geographical position was not unfavourable for the development of scholarship. Only eight miles away stood the old Roman town of Arbor Felix, and at almost an equal distance, the flourishing market of Rorschach[1]. Through these two places passed one of the great trade-routes of the Empire, leading by way of Brigantia and Curia over the Julier[2] and Septimer passes to Italy. Along this road a never-ending stream of merchants, pilgrims, soldiers, nobles or prelates with their retinue, and imperial officials proceeded on their way to or from Rome. Some portion of this traffic was diverted to St Gall along the public highway that connected the valley of the Steinach with Arbon.

[1] Hermann Bikel, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Klosters St Gallen*, p. 22.

[2] The road over the Julier Pass, built by the Emperor Augustus, was the easiest and safest route over the Alps.

Close ties united the Abbey with Bobbio, the monastery of St Columban, and with Monte Cassino, the foundation of St Benedict[1]. Many a precious codex was sent over the Alps from the scriptoria of these two places to be copied at St Gall. Notker Balbulus was a friend of the Archbishop of Vercelli. In less than a day's journey from the gates of his palace, Abbot Salomo could find himself on soil where the Roman tongue was still spoken, where Roman institutions still flourished, and Latin culture was still preserved. His territories were contiguous to those of the Bishop of Chur, whose diocese was dependent on Milan.

No less numerous and important were the relations between St Gall and the great abbeys of the West, with Tours, Rheims, Metz, and later with Liège. The results of this intercourse may be seen in the library to-day. Even in the eighth century a volume of Theodfrid of Corbie found its way to the scriptorium of St Gall and was twice transcribed there. It is interesting to learn that the text then proceeded to Würzburg and to Italy[2]. Thus St Gall served as intermediary between East and West, between North and South.

It might at first sight seem strange that a church and a monastic order which laid such stress on renunciation and asceticism should promote scholarship. The reason is that the Bible, and all liturgical and theological writings were in Latin, which, being a dead language, had to be painfully acquired by the monks. The calm of the cloisters was conducive to study, and many men whose natural aptitudes led them to love learning found a congenial home in conventual surroundings. Such men as Cassiodorus[3] and Bede united in their persons the piety of a monk and the accomplishments of a scholar, thus establishing the great literary traditions for which the Benedictine order became famous. The Latin classics, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Cicero, were used as reading-books and the seven liberal arts were made the basis of conventual education. Thus the monasteries accumulated libraries and, in addition, continued the work of the ancient schools of rhetoric.

[1] *Vide* Landsberger, *Der St Galler Folchart-Psalter*, p. 39, notes 1, 2.

[2] Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, pp. 201–3.

[3] Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, ed. Franz Boll, I, 106–8. We might also add Eugippus to the list, *ibid.*, pp. 108–9.

The scriptoria of the Benedictines are therefore the channel through which the intellectual treasures of classical antiquity passed into our modern world. From the evidence of the existing manuscripts we know that most of the masterpieces of Latin literature that have come down to us owe their existence to the labours of the Carolingian scribes, who thus form the connecting link between the declining Roman Empire and the late Middle Ages. One of the most enduring services of the St Gall monks to European culture was their transcription of ancient manuscripts. They shared with their brethren of Tours, Fleury and Fulda the honour of having done more to diffuse classic learning than any other centre north of the Alps[1]. In Italy itself there were few monasteries whose actual achievement equalled that of St Gall. In 1416 Poggio Bracciolini discovered in the Abbey Library a complete manuscript of Quintilian, of which the Italians had hitherto only known mutilated fragments, Asconius' and Pseudo-Asconius' commentaries on Cicero's *Orations* and *Speeches*—the only copies in existence—also a Lactantius, a Vitruvius, and a Priscian; on a second visit he found manuscripts of Vegetius and Pompeius Festus[2].

It was the proud boast of the monks of St Gall that they had never numbered in their society anyone who was not born free[3]. In theory it was possible for an emancipated serf to assume the monastic habit; in practice it rarely if ever occurred[4]. The community was essentially aristocratic in its nature; the abbots were invariably nobles. This aristocracy of birth became in the ninth century an aristocracy of intellect. The monastery became an academy of scholars, poets, artists, and musicians. Not content with copying the works of antiquity, they studied them diligently and amassed a very respectable store of erudition. We are expressly told that each of the subjects of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium* was taught at St Gall. In few monasteries was the study of Greek carried on with such zeal and with such success.

[1] Manitius, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–1.
[2] Ernst Walser, *Poggius Florentinus Leben und Werke*, pp. 52 sqq.
[3] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 43, p. 153.
[4] Hermann Bikel, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Klosters St Gallen*, pp. 230–1.

Although inferior in some respects to the great intellectual centres of France, St Gall was nevertheless considerably in advance of other Swiss and German monasteries, and its natural function was to transmit the culture it obtained from the West to the North and East. But the famous abbeys of France did not disdain to borrow freely from St Gall on occasion, just as St Gall borrowed from Reichenau; nor must we regard the art and learning of the Abbey as a mere copy of French or Italian models. St Gall was not only a receptive but also, in a very high degree, a creative centre.

In Carolingian civilization there was a certain common fund, a universal, unvarying element that does not belong to any one seat of mental culture, but in some measure to all. Thus, in the eighth century St Gall script was of a special local type, and each scribe had his own hand; in the second half of the ninth century the script became stereotyped. Yet the Abbey had a distinct character and personality of its own. The same subjects were taught in the school as elsewhere, but they were taught by definite individuals. The men of Thurgau had been from time immemorial good fighters. The world now learnt that they could also be excellent teachers. The habits of discipline are as useful in the school as in the camp. No one can read Notker Labeo without realizing that he was a born pedagogue. In the tenth century St Gall monks presided over the schools of Strassburg, Augsburg, Speier, and Salzburg.

The miniatures painted in the St Gall scriptorium found ready approval and imitation in Ratisbon, in Tegernsee and Salzburg[1]. Tuotilo's skill as a sculptor aroused the admiration of the people of Metz[2]. Still more famous were the achievements of the Abbey in the sphere of music. Ratpert's litanies, *Ardua spes mundi* and *Rex sanctorum angelorum*, received the official approval of Pope Nicholas III[3]. Notker's sequences were sung in England, France, Germany, and Italy for centuries. It is interesting to note that eight of them have been translated into English; one of them, *Cantemus cuncti*, has been rendered three times by different

[1] Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, pp. 10–11, 23, 26–7, 41.
[2] *Ekkeharti Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, cap. 45, p. 158.
[3] Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St Gallens*, p. 37.

hymn-writers. J. M. Neale's version: "The strain upraise of joy and praise, Alleluia!" is still sung in the Church of England to-day, and has appeared in almost all Anglican hymnaries[1].

In no other sphere was the contribution of St Gall to human progress so outstanding as in that of literature. No other library possesses at the present day such a rich collection of Old High German manuscripts, and the later period is also well represented. Nor are the literary treasures of the Abbey confined to writings in the vernacular: for its original Latin prose and verse St Gall holds a high place among mediæval centres of learning. It was chronologically the first seat of humane culture in Switzerland and until the eleventh century it remained by far the most important.

"The monastery of St Gall," writes W. P. Ker, "had a great affection for stories, and some of the most amusing memoirs of the Dark Ages were written there. Ekkehard in the eleventh century succeeded both to the tastes and the liveliness of the earlier Monk of St Gall... who wrote the life of Charles the Great from oral tradition, and put into it a number of irrelevant and entertaining matters[2]."

The Monk of St Gall was no other than Notker Balbulus who, besides being the greatest musician ever produced by Switzerland, was also a distinguished man of letters. The literary traditions of St Gall were continued and worthily upheld by Ekkehard I, the author of the epic poem *Waltharius*. The large number of different manuscripts, either extant or mentioned in old catalogues, shows the widespread popularity of this work in France, Germany, Italy, even as far as Poland[3]. It was read and enjoyed till the end of the Middle Ages, and was frequently used as a reading-book in conventual schools.

What was the part played by the Irish in the intellectual development of St Gall? We must not confuse the Celtic hermitage founded by the Saint with the Benedictine monastery that arose on the same site a century later. The naive Alemanni were awed by the holy man from beyond the seas. His great stature and venerable appearance, his strange garb and speech, the Gospel he preached, the austerities he practised, and the miracles he

[1] Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 204, 815–16.
[2] *The Dark Ages*, pp. 174–5.
[3] *Waltharii Poesis*, ed. Althof, I, 21–3, 46.

was believed to perform, made an irresistible appeal to the imagination of the people. When the Apostle of Alemannia was no more, his relics were the object of deep veneration.

But after the foundation of the Abbey by Waltraf, the *tribunus* of Arbon, and Othmar the priest in 720, and still more after the complete introduction of the Benedictine Rule under Othmar's successor, the impulse given by Irish effort at St Gall had practically spent itself. Nearly a century was to elapse before the next wave of Celtic monks arrived, and the latter were not so much missionaries as exiles and fugitives. In this second phase of the history of the Abbey, the tendency would be to uproot and obliterate Celtic characteristics in ritual, teaching methods, art, calligraphy, and so on.

The abbots who introduced all these innovations must have had other models to follow; they must have been able to link up their monastery with other centres in which the Benedictine Rule was observed. It was in this period that the Duchy of Bavaria contributed most to the progress of St Gall, while France, Rhætia, and later the Anglo-Saxon school of Fulda, had much to offer that had cultural value. The most important proof of relations between St Gall and Bavarian monasteries is to be seen in the alphabetical glossary falsely attributed to the monk Kero, which is still preserved in the Abbey Library[1]. The original was written about 750 in Bavaria, and at present three copies are in existence, all of which were written in Swabian monasteries, and are partly or wholly in the Alemannic dialect.

After studying all the original documents with the minutest care, testing every statement, sifting all the available evidence, I have come to the conclusion that after 760 Irish influence no longer predominated at St Gall. The Celtic element has often been exaggerated; we must reduce it to its true proportions. Obviously Waltraf was guided in his choice of a site by the fame of the hermitage, and it must be conceded that the possession of St Gall's relics was the real cause of the Abbey's rise to fame. The neighbouring monastery of Reichenau was richly endowed by its royal founder at a time when the humble cell in the

[1] Codex 911. Cf. F. Kaufmann, *Über althochdeutsche Orthographie*, pp. 261–2.

Steinach valley was poor in this world's goods. But the vague personality of St Pirminius, whose mortal remains rested elsewhere, was far from exercising the attraction that proceeded from the shrine of St Gall, and in the course of the ninth century an ever-increasing number of private benefactions enabled the older foundation to outstrip Reichenau in wealth and prestige, as it also did in intellectual eminence.

In spite of this moral influence, the Abbey of St Gall, unlike the hermitage it superseded, was essentially Swabian in character. As M. Berger puts it with his usual lucidity and terseness:

> Saint Gall était, en réalité, une abbaye alémanne et nullement irlandaise. Son vrai fondateur n'est pas saint Gall, mais saint Othmar; les moines irlandais qu'on y pouvait attirer y étaient retenus comme un ornement et comme un souvenir des temps légendaires, et les *libri scottice scripti* y étaient des objets de luxe plutôt que d'usage[1].

What is the evidence for such a statement? Let us first examine the original charters of the Abbey, dating from the year 740[2]. There is absolutely no trace of insular script in these documents. The hand is Merovingian in the eighth century, Carolingian in the ninth, with some admixture of a Rhætian or a Lombard type. The spelling of the earliest ones is distinctly West Franconian in character. The Latinity frequently reveals the influence of Rhætia, as is natural in a foundation of which the first head was a priest educated in the old Roman province.

Let us take the non-legal manuscripts. There are now in the Abbey Library over 440 codices of which the whole or (in a small number of cases) the greater part was written before the year 1200. Of these seven are entirely, and a few others are partly in insular script[3]; of the seven at least one, the *Vocabularius S. Galli*, is a product of the Anglo-Saxon, not of the Irish tradition. This does not, of course, prove that the remaining manuscripts were all written by Continental scribes. On the contrary it is quite likely that Irish monks helped to write some of the codices that are in a Carolingian hand. But this does not affect our main contention. The point is that the Irish were in a minority and that they were absorbed or assimilated by the majority.

[1] *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 137.
[2] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 9 sqq.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B.

The various lists of monks in the *Liber Confessionum*, the two *Necrologia*, etc. tell the same story. Celtic names are few and far between, German ones can be counted by the hundred. It is quite true that some Irish monks, like Johannes Eriugena, had Latin appellations, but they often added the cognomen "Scottus." The Latin names are no guide to the nationality of a monk, but if so, they cannot be used as an argument for Irish influence.

The question is: which of the two nationalities was the predominant partner? There can be no doubt as to the answer. St Gall does not belong to the category of genuine Irish monasteries, like St Martin's the Great, Cologne[1]; St Symphorian's, Metz; St Martin's, Mainz, and the foundations of the Irish mission in Bavaria[2]. These were ruled by an Irish abbot and the monks were, to a certain extent at least, recruited from Ireland. Not one of the heads of the St Gall community from 720 to the Reformation was an Irishman; what is more, they were all Swabians, with the exception of Grimald, who was a Frank, and Nortpert, who was a native of Lorraine. Their origin is apparent enough in their names: Othmar, Johannes, Rautpert, Waldo, Werdo, Wolfleoz, Gozbert, Bernwic, Engilbert, Grimald, Hartmuot, Bernhart, Salomo, Hartmann, Engilbert II, Thieto, Craloh, Anno, Burkhart, Notker, Immo, etc.[3]

An examination of the lists of deans, *portarii*, *cellerarii*, and other abbey officials, leads to similar results. Among the teachers of the school two alone are known to be Irish: Moengal and Faillan. The first librarian was Liuthart; the earliest scribes of codices whose names are recorded are Winithar, Waldo, and Mauvo[4]. None of them uses insular script and there is not the slightest evidence that any of the four last-mentioned monks had anything to do with Ireland.

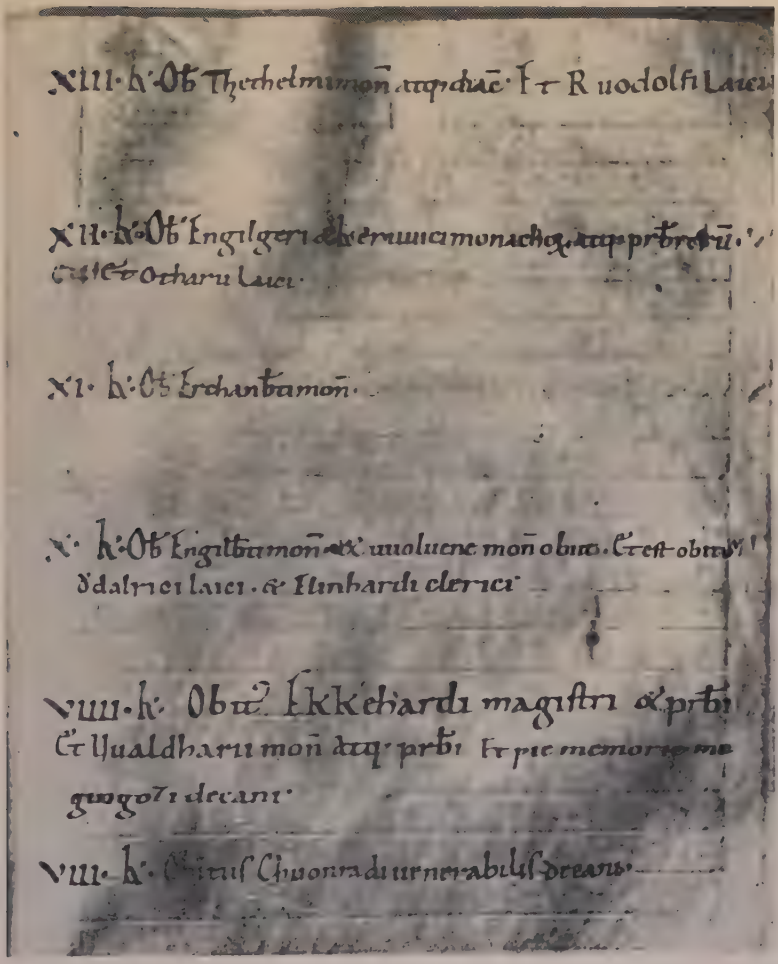
In short, the Irish contribution to the intellectual development of St Gall, though not to be neglected, is by no means the

[1] *Vide* Jannes Hubertus Kessel, *Antiquitates S. Martini Maioris Coloniensis*. Cologne, 1863.

[2] Wattenbach, *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*.

[3] For their successors *vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, pp. 591–2.

[4] *Vide* Henning, *Über die St Galler Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 157–8. Chroust, *Monumenta Palæographica*, Lieferung XVI, Tafel 4.



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only or the most important factor to be considered. If the Irish sowed the seed, it was the Swabians who gathered in the harvest, and extended the area of cultivation. Then came the decline. St Gall, like other Benedictine abbeys, passed through the feudal stage, in which the monks were knights with the tastes and aspirations of their class. The torch of learning had been handed from the Benedictine monasteries to the new universities of Paris and Bologna. It was therefore in the second half of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century that the Abbey reached the highest point of its development both in the economic and the intellectual sphere. There was a temporary revival a century later, but it is in the first short and brilliant epoch that St Gall was, in the full sense of the term, a seat of humane culture, a centre of the liberal arts.

APPENDIX A

THE NATIONALITY OF TUOTILO

The important part which Moengal played in the St Gall school of music has led several Irishmen to make far-reaching claims concerning the influence of their countrymen in the monastery. They would have us believe that the St Gall school of music was entirely Irish in origin and character.

According to this point of view, St Gall music was simply Celtic music transplanted. One of the chief links in the argument is the assertion that Tuotilo who, with the exception of Notker Balbulus, was the greatest of St Gall composers, was an Irishman. W. K. Sullivan states his case in the following terms:

> Nothing is known of the origin of this singularly gifted man. If he were a Swiss or a German, something would be known of his parentage or birthplace, as in the case of his friends Ratpert and St Notkerus.... In the second half of the ninth century, there appear to have been many Irishmen at St Gall besides Moengal, and everything that we know of Tuotilo favours the view that he also was one. In the first place, the name is, to say the least, as much like a Latinized form of the Irish *Tuatal*, *Tuotal*, or *Tuathal*, as of the Gothic *Totilo*. Again, the wandering disposition, the warm, impulsive spirit which made him equally ready to use his tongue or his arm against an enemy, remind us forcibly of St Columbanus; and lastly, his great skill in instrumental music, and especially the decidedly Irish character of the melodies of the two tropes "Hodie cantandus" and "Omnipotens Genitor," which have been published by Father Schubiger, seem conclusive as to his nationality[1].

The absence of information about Tuotilo's origin proves nothing. The fact of the matter is that the historians of the Abbey very rarely recorded the birthplace of a monk. *Ceteris paribus*, they were more likely to be communicative about a foreigner than a native. If a man was a Swabian, there was no need to mention so obvious a fact. If he were a Frank, or a Rhætian, or an Irishman, the circumstance was regarded as unusual and worthy of being recorded. Thus we know that Othmar[2], Grimald, Marcus and Moengal were strangers, but we are told nothing about a score of abbots, not to mention really famous monks like Ekkehard IV.

Sullivan's remarks on the etymology of Tuotilo seem to imply that it is merely a Latinized form of an Irish name, and that the only other alternative is that of Gothic origin. But the name requires no explanation at all. It is a diminutive of Tuoto; both the simplex and the derivative were quite common in Old High German[3]; it is therefore neither a Latinized Irish nor a Gothic name. The Celtic monks who assumed a cognomen on the Continent are legion, but can a single instance be given of an Irishman who adopted a German

[1] *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, I, p. dlxviii sqq.

[2] A stranger by education and upbringing, a compatriot by birth.

[3] See the numerous examples in Förstenmann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, I, 412 sqq.

name? The St Gall monk invariably signs his name Tuatilo or Tuotilo, both of which forms are etymologically identical. He never uses Irish script; he is never described in any of the original sources as "Scotus." The little we know about him does not justify the assumption that he was Irish, rather the contrary.

The bulk of our knowledge on the subject of Tuotilo is derived from Ekkehard IV, one of the least reliable of informants. The passages in question are by no means unimpeachable. Thus, it is scarcely credible that Ratpert, Tuotilo and Notker should have been close friends, as Ekkehard would have us believe, because Ratpert died shortly after 884, whereas Tuotilo first appears as the thirty-second witness to a deed dated 895; from 907 he was a scribe and his name occurs in official documents till 912[1]. But even if, for the sake of argument, we accept the statements in the *Casus* as literally true, what do we find? Ekkehard praises Tuotilo's skill in many different spheres[2]. His accomplishments ranged from pugilism to the power to cast out devils, and in the *Casus*[3] Ekkehard gives us an edifying account of his use of the latter gift. Such versatility is unusual, but surely genius knows no national boundaries.

The final argument used by Sullivan is to the effect that Tuotilo's music is Irish in character. What are the distinguishing features of Celtic music? Sullivan answers this question himself in the same chapter:

> When....we analyse genuine Irish airs, even comparatively modern ones, where they have not been modified under the influence of Church music, or distorted to meet the needs of modern harmony, we find that many of them are constructed according to a gapped quinquegrade scale obtained from a circle of fifths,....while a still larger number are constructed in the old Church tones. But so strongly impressed is the character of the gapped scale in genuine Irish music that in those airs moving in Church tones one or both semi-tones are omitted[4].

Here we have a definite criterion by which old Celtic music can be recognized. According to Sullivan, it was written either in the gapped scale, in which the third and seventh notes of the octave are wanting, i.e. a scale without any semitones (like many well-known Highland and Irish songs, e.g. the melodies of "Ye Banks and Braes o' Bonnie Doon" and "I'd mourn the hopes that leave me"), or in a church mode influenced by the gapped scale. Now these characteristics are entirely absent in Tuotilo's tropes. Both *Hodie cantandus* and *Omnipotens genitor* are written in the Dorian mode, and both semitones occur frequently. It is hard to see in what respect they can be "conclusive as to his nationality," because the second of them is not by Tuotilo at all[5].

[1] *Casus*, ed. Von Knonau, p. 4, n. 16, p. 158, n. 562, p. 159, n. 572.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 129; cf. n. 445. [3] p. 195.
[4] *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, I, p. dlxxi.
[5] *Vide supra*, p. 194. Sullivan, following Schubiger, refers to the second trope as "Omnipotens genitor," instead of "Cunctipotens genitor."

APPENDIX B

A LIST OF THE INSULAR MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ST GALL ABBEY LIBRARY

§ I. *Irish Manuscripts and Glosses*

(i) Codex 48. The Greek text of the four Gospels with a Latin interlinear translation. Written about 850 (Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 340). H. C. M. Rettig, who edited it in facsimile, thought it to be identical with the *Evangeliorum volumen unum* bequeathed by Abbot Hartmuot to the library (*Ratperti Casus*, ed. Meyer von Knonau, cap. xxx, p. 55). Scherrer, pp. 20–1.

(ii) Codex 51. The four Gospels in Latin, divided into lections (eighth century). Scherrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3. According to G. F. Waagen (*Nachträge*, p. 84), it came to St Gall in 967: I have been unable to discover his authority for this statement. For the Biblical text *vide* Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 56. There are a great many clerical errors in the codex; Ferdinand Keller (*Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten*, p. 85) attributed them to the inexperience of the scribe. As a matter of fact the mistakes that occur are typical of Celtic orthography in Latin manuscripts.

(iii) Codex 60. Gospel of St John (eighth–ninth century). Mentioned in the oldest catalogue: *Evangelia II secundum Johannem scottice scripta*. For the text *vide* Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 56. The cover is formed by carved ivory tablets. Scherrer, pp. 27–8.

(iv) Codex 761 (eighth–ninth century). Medicinal treatises and excerpts. Scherrer, p. 251.

(v) Codex 904. Priscian, *De Grammatica*, with Irish glosses. Written in Ireland, probably at Kildare (there are many references to St Bridget and other Leinster saints), in the first half of the ninth century, as is evident from a reference to the Vikings. It was brought to the Continent by Sedulius, or one of his friends. About the year 860 it was in the neighbourhood of Cologne; a poem in praise of Archbishop Gunther (850–869) was then added. Finally the manuscript found its way to St Gall, but not before the end of the ninth century (Nigra, *Reliquie Celtiche*, I, 14–15). There is a large bibliography on this important codex, *vide* Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*; Whitley Stokes in *Berichte der kön. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 175–190; Ascoli, *Archivo Glottologico Italiano*; Mario Esposito, *Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts in the Libraries of Switzerland*, Part I, pp. 78–9; Traube, *Sedulius Scottus*, pp. 347–8; Scherrer, pp. 319–320.

(vi) Codex 1394, pp. 95–8. Fragment of an Irish Sacramentary (eighth century), perhaps of the *Missalis in Vol. I* of the oldest catalogue (Weidmann, p. 365). Edited with copious notes by F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 175–9; cf. p. 100.

Specimen facsimile in F. Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge*, Tafel XI, No. 6. On p. 94 of the codex manuscript notes by Ildefons von Arx. Scherrer, p. 459.

(vii) CODEX 1394, pp. 101–4. Gospel of St Luke, Chapters i–iii (ninth century, according to F. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 83). The text is that of the Vulgate. Some orthographical peculiarities (e.g. *misus* for *missus*) and abbreviations are typically Irish. Manuscript notes by Von Arx on p. 100. Scherrer, p. 459.

(viii) CODEX 1394, pp. 121–2, 125–8. A fragment dealing with figures of speech in dialogue form. Scherrer, p. 460 (ninth century).

(ix) CODEX 1394, pp. 123–4. A single leaf on figures of speech, but unlike No. (viii) in quarto (ninth century). Scherrer, p. 460.

(x) CODEX 1395, pp. 418–19. A single leaf, apparently from an Irish Gospel Book (eighth century). On the front page a miniature of St Matthew, on the back incantations in Irish and Latin, edited by F. Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge*, pp. 92–3 (with English translation of one spell by Dr Todd of Dublin), and Zimmer, *Glossæ Hibernicæ*, pp. 270–1; cf. pp. xl–xli. *Vide* also Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 949; W. Stokes, *Academy*, XXX, 228 (Oct. 2, 1886). Scherrer, pp. 462–3.

(xi) CODEX 1395, pp. 422–3. A cruciform title-page, on the back of which are three forms of benediction of water and salt in very abbreviated Irish script (eighth century), similar to that of Codex 904. Perhaps a fragment of the *Orationes in quaternionibus* of the oldest catalogue (Weidmann, p. 365). Edited by F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 183–4; cf. p. 213. Scherrer, p. 463.

(xii) CODEX 1395, pp. 426–7. A title-page with a large ornamented initial P; on the back a litany in beautiful Irish minuscules (eighth century). Edited by Warren, pp. 179–180. Scherrer, p. 463.

(xiii) CODEX 1395, pp. 430–3. Two mutilated black leaves containing part of the *Office of the Dead* in Irish minuscules (eighth century). Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 31) points out the resemblance between this manuscript and the *Codex Usserianus*. Scherrer, p. 463.

(xiv) CODEX 1395, pp. 436–7. A fragment on versification in the form of a dialogue between teacher and pupil, on a very thick, browned leaf of parchment in curious Irish rectangular cursives (seventh or eighth century). It was taken from a classical writer, because Latin is referred to as a spoken tongue (Scherrer, p. 463).

(xv) CODEX 1395, pp. 440–1. Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians, iii, 5–24, with a commentary. Possibly a relic of the *Epistolæ Pauli in Vol. I* mentioned among the *Libri scottice scripti* of the oldest catalogue (Weidmann, p. 364). Scherrer, p. 464.

(xvi) CODEX 1395, pp. 444–7. Two stiff leaves in large Irish script from a Missal (eighth or ninth century). This fragment contains part

of an office *De Visitatione Infirmorum*. Edited by F. E. Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–3. Facsimile in F. Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge*, Tafel XII, No. 2; and Cooper, Appendix A to Rymer's *Fœdera*, Plates XXV–XXVII. Scherrer, p. 464.

(xvii) CODEX 1397, pp. 157–8. Single leaf with Irish minuscules and neums on a stave of four lines. Scherrer, p. 467.

(xviii) CODEX 134, p. 230. Among the German glosses to Prudentius, the Irish word *neman* is added as a gloss (eleventh century). Hattemer, *Denkmahle*, I, 272; Zimmer, *Glossæ Hibernicæ*, Supplementum, p. 5. Scherrer, pp. 49–50.

§ II. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Glosses*

(i) CODEX 254, p. 253. Bede's *Death Song*, lines 6–11. Manuscript of ninth century, copied by Continental scribe from eighth century original. Hattemer, *Denkmahle des Mittelalters*, I, 3; reprinted in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, p. 149. The manuscript is mentioned in the oldest catalogue (Scherrer, pp. 95–6).

(ii) CODEX 295, pp. 96–172. Glosses to Old Testament (ninth century). Printed in Hattemer, I, 224–231, 257, 419. Steinmeyer und Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, IV, 448. Dietrich in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV (1869), 119.

(iii) CODEX 299, pp. 3–5. Latin-German glosses to the Old Testament, with an Anglo-Saxon gloss interpolated. Hattemer, *op. cit.*, I, 238–245, 257–262, 287–290, 305. Steinmeyer und Sievers, *op. cit.*, IV, 449–450; cf. Dietrich, *loc. cit.*

(iv) CODEX 878, p. 321. Anglo-Saxon and Norse Runes, arranged in rude verse to assist memorizing (ninth century). Printed in Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, I, 19–20; cf. II, 55–7; Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 34. Cf. Dietrich, pp. 119–123; Hattemer, I, 417.

(v) CODEX 913 (*a*) pp. 5–70. Letter of St Jerome to Paulinus. Scherrer, p. 331.

(*b*) pp. 71–148. A little theological encyclopædia, consisting of short treatises on the nature of God, on the six ages of the world, the divisions of the day, blood-letting, etc. On p. 118 the Easter dispute (664–c. 718) is mentioned as still going on. On pp. 139–145 there is an Anglo-Saxon gloss on the names of animals in Leviticus xi, explaining which animals are not to be found "apud nos," or "in Britannia." This eighth century gloss is printed in Kluge, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch* (3rd ed., Halle, 1902), pp. 11–12; Steinmeyer u. Sievers, IV, 460. Cf. Dietrich, p. 119.

(*c*) pp. 149–180. A brief Latin treatise on theology in dialogue form. There are occasional references to profane history. Scherrer, p. 332.

(*d*) pp. 181–206. The *Vocabularius S. Galli*, copied at St Gall about 780. It consists of three parts:

(*α*) The *Vocabularius* proper (pp. 181–201), a Latin-German gloss used for elementary teaching in the school of St Gall. It is related to the *Glossæ Casselanæ*, which came from Fulda (Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, pp. 248–9). The source is Isidore's *Etymologies*, or, according to Henning (*Über die Sanctgallischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen*, pp. 53–5), Suetonius' *Prata*.

(*β*) pp. 201–5. The first Supplement (Anhang) to the *Vocabularius*, consisting of Latin-Old High German glosses, first general, then alphabetical (C–L), from Isidore, based on an Anglo-Saxon gloss, as Steinmeyer discovered (Wilhelm Braune, *Althochdeutsch und Angelsächsisch*, pp. 378–9).

(*γ*) pp. 205–6. The second Supplement. Glosses to *De Laudibus Virginum* by the Anglo-Saxon writer Aldhelm (†709). Of the same date as (*α*). Printed in Henning, pp. 22–3.

(vi) Single Anglo-Saxon words occur in four copies of Bede's works: (*a*) Codex 247, p. 302. Anglo-Saxon place-names on the last page of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.

(*b*) Codex 248, p. 128. The Anglo-Saxon names of the months in Bede's *De Natura Rerum et de Temporibus* (ninth century). Hattemer, I, 333.

(*c*) Codex 250, p. 217. Names of months, as in (*b*). Date: eleventh century.

(*d*) Codex 251, p. 69. Names of months (ninth century).

§ III. *Doubtful*

(i) Codex 451. Bede's *Martyrology* up to July 25 (ninth century). St Boniface (June 5) is included, being probably taken from Rabanus Maurus. St Kilian (July 8) is added in a later (insular) hand. The Anglo-Saxon saints Melittus, Augustine, Ethelthryth are mentioned, but St Bridget is omitted, which is the more surprising because Bridget is to be found in Bede. The numerous clerical errors suggest that at one stage of the evolution of the text there was an Irish scribe. We find *i* used for *e*, *u* for *o*, *i* for *y*; *b* and *v* are confused, *h* is omitted or wrongly inserted; *s* and *ss* are frequently confounded. Insular script is used throughout. In a brief note in the *Academy*, xxx, 228, Whitley Stokes refers to the passages on the martyrdom of St Boniface (p. 39) and on Queen Ethelthryth, the foundress of Ely (p. 42). Stokes declares that the scribe was not an Irishman, but "a Teuton whose pointed minuscules are remarkably Hibernian in form."

(ii) Codex 732, p. 177. In the margin of the moon-cycles a few lines have been added in another hand (ninth century). Dr Karl Henking (*Die annalistischen Aufzeichnungen des Klosters St Gallen*, p. 346) prints them as a continuation of the *Annales Sangallenses*

Breves, although he notices that they are not in the same hand. First there is Virgil's famous line: "Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori." Then come two magic spells, of which the first is part of the Lord's Prayer written backwards, and the second begins: "Union geniwron, catulon, genitul," etc. Some of the words are Latin, the others do not belong to any known language, but some of them are contained in another incantation "Ad equum qui se offendit" in a Zürich manuscript (Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 391). The two *g*'s in the first line are of the Carolingian type, but the Anglo-Saxon *w*-sign occurs twice. The passage is also printed in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, I, 64; cf. note (*b*).

For traces of insular script in other St Gall manuscripts *vide* Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 639, and add to his list Codex 124.

APPENDIX C

ST GALL MANUSCRIPTS IN OTHER LIBRARIES[1]

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, Stadtbibliothek. Evangelarium, ninth century. *Vide* Landsberger, *Der Folchart-Psalter*, p. 15.

BASEL, Universitätsbibliothek. No. A, VII, 3: Greek-Latin Psalter of the ninth century, written partly by Moengal. *Vide* Berger, *De la tradition grecque*, p. 113.

BERLIN, Königliche Bibliothek. (i) Hamilton No. 542: Prudentius, tenth century. St Gall coat-of-arms on folio 195 *v.*

(ii) Theol. Lat. No. 11: Troparium, eleventh century. Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, pp. 91–2.

BERNE, Stadtbibliothek. No. 264: Prudentius, ninth century. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (1895), pp. 88–96. Cf. also Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 97–8.

BREMEN, Stadtbibliothek. (i) Codex a. 32: Charters of the Abbey of St Gall from Chilperich II to Charles V. Printed in Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*.

(ii) a. 120. No. 13: Teutcarius, Presbyter S. Galli, De Computo Ecclesiastico. Cf. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Medii Ævi* (1746), Vol. VI, 618.

(iii) a. 17: Vadianus, Adversaria Historica. Unprinted.

(iv) b. 44 *b*. No. 17: Wettinus, Vita S. Galli.

(v) a. 19. Nos. 5, 6: O. Goldastus, Monachi S. Galli Chronica, excerpta ab Joach. de Vadt (Vadianus).

EINSIEDELN, Stiftsbibliothek. No. 17: Evangelarium, tenth century. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 129, n. 3. Landsberger, p. 21.

GENEVA, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire. 37 a: Lectionarium, tenth or eleventh century. Painted initials. St Gall press-mark. Presented in 1864 by the heirs of M. De Roches-Lombard, who obtained it from the Turrettini family. I am indebted to M. Hubert, Sous-Conservateur des manuscrits, for this information.

GLASGOW, University Library. Hunterian, U. 6. 8: Excerptum de tractatu Sergii Grammatici in Bucolica Vergilii, tenth century. St Gall press-mark on first page.

LEYDEN, University Library. No. 69: Catalogue of abbots of St Gall from 614 down to 1529. Written at St Gall by three different hands. *Mittheilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, XI, 135 sqq.

LONDON, British Museum. (i) Add. 11,852: Biblical books, ninth century. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 126–7. Chroust, *Monumenta Palæographica*, Serie I, Lieferung XV, Tafeln 1, 2.

(ii) Add. 19,768: Troparium, eleventh century. Gautier, p. 91. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1222.

[1] This list is necessarily incomplete.

MÜHLHAUSEN, Bibliothek der Industriellen Gesellschaft. Erkanbold's Evangelistarium, tenth century.

MUNICH, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek. C. l. m. 22,311: Evangelarium, tenth century. Landsberger, p. 20. (Doubtful.)

OXFORD, Bodleian Library. Douce, 222: Troparium, eleventh century. Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, p. 91.

PAUL, St (Carinthia), Stiftsbibliothek. No. 25, a. 14. Office-book, tenth century. Swarzenski, *Malerei und Ornamentik*, p. 393.

ROME, Vatican Library. Barb. 711: Office-book. Merton, *Die Buchmalerei des IX. Jahrhunderts in St Gallen*, p. 80.

ULM, Stadtbibliothek (?). Gospel book, ninth century. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 125.

VIENNA, Hofbibliothek. (i) No. 743: Biblical books, eighth century. Written by Winithar of St Gall. Berger, *op. cit.*, 90, 118.

(ii) No. 1043: Troparium, eleventh century.

(iii) No. 1609: Troparium, early tenth century. Gautier, 132.

(iv) No. 1815: Sacramentarium. Merton, pp. 16–19.

(v) No. 1845: Troparium, etc. Gautier, 132.

WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzogliche Bibliothek. No. 3095: Vitæ S. Galli et Othmari, tenth century. Landsberger, 20–1. (Doubtful.)

ZOFINGEN, Stadtbibliothek. Isidorus, Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX; 294 pp. The St Gall press-mark occurs twice. As Dr E. Jenny of Zofingen very kindly informs me, this MS. was probably taken from St Gall by the Zurichois in 1712. It was presented to the Stadtbibliothek in 1720 by Johann Georg Altmann, a native of Zofingen and professor in the Berne Academy.

ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek. (i) C. 57: Biblical books, ninth century. Written by Marcellus and Giselberht. Berger, 129. Weidmann, 440.

(ii) C. 60: Lectionarium, ninth century. Landsberger, 15.

(iii) C. 77: Lectionarium, ninth century. *Ibid.*

(iv) C. 121: Notker, De Partibus Logicæ, etc. Hattemer, I, 537–559. Piper, I, pp. v–xii.

Vide also Weidmann, 423–441; Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I, 164; Landsberger, 4; Stokes in *Academy*, XXX, 228.

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